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1966

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for the year 1966*

EDITED BY

C. E. BLUNT, H. H. KING
AND R. H. M. DOLLEY

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THE TWO PRIMARY SERIES OF SCEATTAS: ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

By S. E. RIGOLD

THIS is an appendix to the writer's paper in *BNJ*, XXX (1960), 6 ff. It covers:—

- (a) material discovered or published since 1960;
- (b) reconsiderations of, or reservations about, certain of the arguments, which do not, however, modify the basic contentions and chronology of the original paper;
- (c) Corrections of minor errors in description.

These will be treated in the order in which they modify the original text, and the same abbreviations (*BNJ*, XXX, 29–30) will be used, with two additions—

C. Syll. *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Royal Coll. of Coins and Medals, National Museum, Copenhagen, Part I* (1964).

A.N.S. American Numismatic Society.

Introductory

The convenient term 'sceatta' will continue to be used, without prejudice to the questions whether, or at what stage in their development, the coins are more properly called 'pennies'. The possibility (*v.i.*, p. 3) that all 'Primary Sceattas' were originally gilded reinforces the contention that 'thrymsas' and 'sceattas' form a single series, representing a single denomination. It may prove that 'Secondary' sceattas were called pennies and the 'Primary' known by another name.

Discovery and Distribution in England (*BNJ*, XXX, 7)

(I) In 1965 yet another grave-hoard of eight specimens, all of types 'A' or 'B', was excavated by Mrs. Sonia Hawkes in the cemetery at Finglesham, Kent, which had previously yielded a pale gold 'Pada' (*BNJ*, XXX p. 51; Appendix H). Mrs. Hawkes immediately communicated the discovery to the writer and has kindly authorised its description here, in advance of full publication of the cemetery. This hoard (Hoard X), in the remains of a leather purse with small metal fittings (*c.f.* Hoard III), apparently attached to a belt, accompanied a male burial without other grave-goods. It is the first Kentish hoard of its kind to have the benefit of modern archaeological recording, though that of Hoards I and III was creditable for the time. The new hoard is early and similar in composition and weight to Hoard I.

(II) While preparing a summary of the Anglo-Saxon finds from Richborough for *Rich. V* (forthcoming), the writer became convinced that the engraving in Roach Smith, *R.R.L.*, 157, represented the only known coin of Type A1.

(III) Dr. M. Metcalf kindly brought to the writer's notice a find at Wintringham, Lincs., containing Type B III B and its derivative *BMC* 37 and a single *BMC* 37 from Banbury.

(IV) A coin like *BMC*, Pl. II, 3 (an East Anglian(?) variation of the porcupine/standard type) from Selsey (1845), in the Ashmolean can hardly be that reported as a Type B.

(V) A *BMC* 33, which is much the same as 32a, was found at Reculver in 1964.

The Post-Crondall Thrymsa Coinage (BNJ, XXX, 11)

(I) What was apparently another 'Two Emperors' piece (S. II, v) but a poor, pierced specimen with unintelligible rev. (unless something was welded to it, which might account for the absurdly high weight reported), came from Otterham Creek, Upchurch, Kent (CA., VI, 260). The Maidstone specimen *may* be that reported on the 6 in. O.S. map from Eythorne Green Hollingbourne (c) as from Hollingbourne, unless it is the Frisian (?) tremissis, also at Maidstone, first recorded in 1914, (A.C., xxxi (1915)). These would bring the Kentish findspots to four:—Lympe, Reculver, Upchurch, Hollingbourne (?), or vicinity.

Four obv. and five rev. dies of the type can be added to Dr. Sutherland's twelve and fifteen. The coins concerned, integrated into Sutherland's list, are:—

- (1) O2 bis/R3 bis (*F. Syll.*, no. 218, 1.28 gm.).
- (2) O5/R7 bis (close to R8) (*C. Syll.*, no. 19, 1.30 gm.). This means there may be up to four revs. to one obv., as in sceattas of Types A and B.
- (3) O6 bis/R9 bis (RCL, no. 202, ex Rashleigh).
- (4) O10 bis/R13 bis (a, Maidstone Museum 1.22 gm.; b, *C. Syll.*, no. 21, 1.28 gm.).
- (5) O12/R16 (*C. Syll.*, no. 20, 1.29 gm.).

Sutherland no. 42 (O8/R12) is probably that in *Arch. J.*, I (1845), 385 (Rev. G. M. Nelson, Bodicote, Banbury). Is not the winged centauress (*BMC* type 47) a distant reminiscence of this type? Her head is Victory's and her breasts are the emperors' heads!

(II) The 'coinage of Vanimund' (S. II, vi, in sequence to Sutherland: tabulated in Appendix B), though it still appears to be entirely of English production, is *not*, as was suggested, the explicit coinage of a moneyer Vanimund or Aunimund, but a hybrid imitative coinage, difficult to account for in detail. The rev. of the earlier type, VA (reading VANIMVNDVS MONE, or -MOIE) is taken from a coin, bearing the same unusual form of cross and CA, of the moneyer VVARIMVNDVS (- MONE or MONI) from a minor and uncertain Austrasian mint, named on the (totally different) obv. as MALLO MAT(1)RIACO (*M.M.B.N.* pp. 198-9). The English obv. has a 'Constantinopolis' head; the legend—OTIANIVS or OTIANTVS—can hardly represent the TARIVS of *monetarius*, as was suggested: more probably it is some echo of IVS-T(IN)IANVS.

The style places the Frankish prototype in that restricted area of Austrasia, around Metz, which furnished such a large proportion of the later tremisses that reached England and the Netherlands. But why was a coin of such an obscure mint—not a *civitas*, or even a *vicus*, but a *mallum* (place of assembly or fair-ground) chosen to copy? The most plausible, but not altogether satisfactory, identification is Mairy (Meurthe-et-Moselle); the various places called Mezière(s) are not acceptable. A second moneyer is known at this mint, using the same peculiar cross on the rev., THEVDELENVS (*M.M.B.N.*, nos. 915-6) (possibly the same as Heudelenus of Metz). Both use the typical late form of bust, with thick neck and skull-cap-likel outline to the diadem, in the final form, with a six-pointed star on the drapery, found at Metz, at Marsal and the near-by BODESIA (Vic-sur-Seille), to the S.E., and at the mysterious MALLO ARLAVIS. Mairy, just E. of the Longuyon-Briey road, may be too far N.W., and all these mints may be on the salt-ways to the S.E. of Metz. Whereas Theudelenus's issues are not reported as conspicuously pale, those of Warimundus (e.g. *M.M.B.N.*, no. 917), and some others, as described as 'or blanc'. The whole 'six-pointed-star phase' seems to be subsequent to the latest Austrasian element in Crondall, and to span the most visible stage of debasement, which was already complete when the first English 'Vanimund' imitations were made. This argues a considerable interval between Crondall and an early phase of the post-Crondall

thrymsas. If it proves necessary to move Crondall some way before 660, it does not follow that the early phases of the post-Crondall coinage antedate the later 660s (see review of Continental hoard evidence). The scale of the 'two emperors' coinage alone might call for a longer period than the twelve years of king Hlothere (674–686; for the adjustment of certain dates—*c.f.* *BNJ*, xxx, 27—by one year, see D. P. Kirby, 'Bede and Northumbrian chronology' *E.H.R.*, lxxviii (1965), p. 514).

The Coinage of Pada (*BNJ*, XXX, 13).

The other silver Pada from Sarre (P III, 6/i(a)) has come to light (FEJ), and new dies of both the electrum and silver phases are noted in the appendix.

The Metal of the Primary Sceattas (*BNJ*, xxx, 15).

The new Finglesham hoard (Hoard X) was largely encrusted with iron and copper from the purse fittings. It was gently cleaned by the excavator in a weak solution of citric acid, and this process was repeated by the author, and the coins washed in distilled water. Any soluble salts of Cu or Ar would have been removed, and it is difficult to believe that a metallic surface-enrichment of Cu would have been unaffected by any soil-action on the adjacent Cu purse-fittings. Yet after cleaning and washing the coins all showed an apparently stable yellowish surface, except at points of highest relief, though on those of type A it was very slight.

A distinct gold colour had been previously noticed on certain primary sceattas. The writer had remarked on it in describing B I C, 4, and Dr. Galster describes a B III B coin (*C. Syll.*, no. 22) as 'gilded'. Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart had brought several instances of it on coins of types 'A' and 'B' to the writer's attention, but he had been inclined to dismiss it as a patina. However, in view of the known low Cu and lower Au content of the Southend hoard (Hoard VI), of the apparent resistance of the yellow surface of the Finglesham coins to such natural action as had affected the purse-fittings and to artificial action on cleaning, and, after close examination, of the presence of a comparable yellow surface on many well-preserved Primary sceattas from various sources, he began to suspect that all Primary sceattas had received a gold wash and were intended to be assimilated to their thrymsa archetypes. He sought confirmation from the British Museum laboratory, but hitherto they have not felt prepared to give a definitive answer.

If the hypothesis is correct, it may be that Primary sceattas were tremisses or 'shillings' (?) while Secondary sceattas were, like certain explicitly marked Frankish *denarii*, pennies. The economic implications of this are beyond the scope of this paper, and the question is complicated by the fact that the transitional Hoard VIII, which obviously contained eight of the same unit, yet included some that might be reckoned 'Secondary'. Certainly there seems no fast distinction in weight, and the gilding, if so it is, was not regular enough to make them immediately distinguishable. To the Franks and Frisians sceattas were *denarii*; to the English none of them may have been pennies.

Type B and its Kentish Successors. (*BNJ*, XXX, 18, 22)

(I) The Finglesham hoard contained six of Type B I: only one obv. die was new, but only one rev. die was already known. Without claiming a statistical validity from so small a sample, it looks as though the series of obv. dies of B I is nearing completeness, while the rule of up to four rev. dies to one obv. leaves many rev. dies still to be discovered. With B III and especially with B II, less well represented in hoards, it is probably otherwise.

(II) Recently Dr. D. M. Metcalf, while admitting the continuity of type B III and *BMC* type 37 and its close relatives, has suggested (*Cunobelin*, XII (1966), 26–39):—

(a) that certain slightly anomalous coins, not only in subtype B III A, but in earlier subtypes also, are imitations;

(b) that the whole series of mature B III coins, together with *BMC* 37, etc., are non-Kentish derivatives;

(c) that this derivative series comes from Mercia, excluding London.

Taking the points separately:—

(a) may be true in a few cases, and any that are imitations may well not be English; but a different engraver does not make a different mint.

(b) seems an unnecessary hypothesis, though Dr. Metcalf does not mention one possible cause of misgiving about complete continuity with the rest of type B—the fact that Hoard VIII shows these late and roughly executed sub-types (B III B, etc.) as perhaps overlapping in time-series the much better produced *BMC* type 32a, etc., which also seem apperanted to type B and perhaps Kentish. If type 32a is the legitimate successor to B I and B II, is B III somehow less official? Certainly the B III ‘connexion’ constitutes a large and compact issue, and its coastwise distribution, with one or two Mercian outliers, proves nothing. Not only do earlier Primary sceattas have a coastal as well as a Kentish distribution, but the movement also works the other way, in E. Anglian and even Northumbrian coins on the Kentish coast. Note also that the apparent gilding (*v.s.*) is found on B III coins as well as B I.

(c) seems most unlikely. The B III ‘connexion’ is not W. Saxon, and almost certainly not from London. Dr. Metcalf seems to imply somewhere properly in Middle Anglia, and there was no mint there, or in Mercia proper, in the later 8th century. The most plausible locations for the ‘connexion’, if it is not Kentish, are somewhere in the progressive East—Lindsey, or even E. Anglia. It is worth noting that some of the odder ‘R2’ coins, *e.g.* that from Hoard VIII, combine E. Anglian motifs with a handling of pellets much as in B III. This, with the Rouen and Frisian (*cf. C. Syll.*, 49, 50) affinities of *BMC* 37, takes us back to the coast. Essex, apart from London, was a poor area compared with wealthy Kent, and the simplest hypothesis is to leave the B III ‘connexion’ with its archetypes in Kent.

(III) Dr. Metcalf (*op. cit.* 31) demonstrates that B IIIC is not transitional between B III B and *BMC* 37, but ‘conflationary’, i.e. begun after the introduction of the latter (as Hoard VIII would suggest) and copying some of its features.

The Continental Hoard Evidence (BNJ, XXX, 24)

I. *Bordeaux*. Le Gentilhomme’s reconstruction of this hoard has been questioned. The main issue is not in the precise composition, but whether there were in fact two hoards—a Visigothic hoard, which certainly ended with Wamba (672–680), and a Frankish hoard. Le Gentilhomme admitted that the description of individual coins was only approximate, but there is no reason to doubt the general complexion of each of the suggested *two* hoards. The Frankish part clearly contained some old material (so did Cimiez), but nothing that need antedate the debasement already perceptible before Dagobert’s death (639); on the other hand, if the Childeric of Marseille is correct, it was not buried before 662; in other words, the later limit of the Frankish hoard is a decade earlier than that of the Visigothic. Some Western elements can be paralleled at Dronrijp and Crondall, but there are items that seem to reflect Austrasian coins of a trifle later. Taking the Baudulf coin as the *archetype*, not the

derivative, of the English 'two emperors' type, there is nothing inconsistent with a burial in the early 660s, allowing the English 'two emperors' to begin soon afterwards.

II. *Dronrijp I and II* (*BNJ*, XXX, 25) Dronrijp, Nietap, Crondall, Bordeaux and a small group from Alterwalde are essentially of the same generation, but (with the possible exception of Nietap) the Frankish content of Crondall appears to be the earliest of them. If this proves to be around, or soon after, 650, with the others following in the next dozen years, the effect is to allow the development of the large post-Crondall thrymsa coinage to cover the period c. 665–685, i.e. to let the proposed chronology out where the seams are tightest. The extra decade produced by splitting the Bordeaux hoard is welcome. Therefore amend the statement in *BNJ* XXX, 27 to '(a) the post-Crondall pale gold coinage between the later 660s and the early 680s'.

III. *Predominantly silver hoards* (*ibid.*) These are in no wise affected. There still remain three stages of development between the post-Crondall thrymsas and St. Pierre-des-Etieux and its followers:— the ultimate (base silver) Padas and 'Vanimunds' and probably BX; the Primary series, A and B I; B II, Primary Runic (R Ia) and, after it, Frisian Runic (R 3)— these three already represented at St. Pierre.

IV. Prof. Zadoks-Jitta points out that there is no evidence that the Frisians invaded Gaul to support the rivals of Charles Martel, and does not think his Frisian raid of 734 serious enough to explain the concealment of Hallum or other hoards.

APPENDIX A (Pada)

Type P I: insert after P IA 1:—

(obv) 1 bis. Intermediate head, regular legend

(rev) (i) 'pada' on standard, longer cross with annulet terminals, $MA^{\circ}TT-M$

(a) 18.6/1.20, *C.Syll.*, no. 23, EL.

Type P II: after P IIA, 2 (1)a add:—

from near Namur (*R.B.N.*, 1854, p. 269). The true weight is 1.155gm.; the s.g. 10.41.

Type P III: insert after P III 4 (on which final c of obv. approaches r):—

(obv) 4 bis. 'Visigothic' bust with two pellets, $I\ II\ VA-VN\ F$

(rev) (i) detached annulets, 'pada' $\Delta V\ II\ V\ \Delta V\ II$

(a) 19.7/1.28 Messrs. Baldwin, *R* (Pl. xiv).

APPENDIX B ('Vanimund')

Type VB: add:—

VB 10. (rev.) (∞) $IIVMV$ -- 17.0/1.10, ΔM (Christ Church coll., Oman cat. 3/11).

APPENDIX E (Type B)

Phase BX: add:—

BX 3, ii (b) --, Hesse sale, 14: vi: 1922, lot 307.

BX 5 (perhaps between BX I and BX 2) / b. 8 pellets or small annulets / pellets r. / 8 / .. /

$\sigma TA - - \infty \Delta HT\sigma$

(rev.) i / 3×3 / 2, $9\frac{1}{2}$ / .. / .. / $\sigma VANVA \infty V\Delta H\sigma$

(a) 19.9/1.29, *C. Syll.*, no. 38, ex P d'A.

Phase B I

Subtype B I A: add:—

To B I A, 10, new rev: (iii) $3 \times 3/3$, $9/-/1./\sigma \Delta VIM - - N$ (reverse-barred) $\Delta \sigma \sigma$

(a) 19.6/1.274, Hd. X, 3.

B I A, 12 (like B I A, 8, but serpent's head up behind ear, as B II) h. / - / 8 / 1. / $\sigma \Delta VIMV\Delta - -$

$IIT\sigma \sigma$

(rev.): (i) $3\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ / 3, $9 / - / 1. ./ - \Delta VNMV\Delta - - \sigma$

(a) 16.6 / 1.076*, Hd. X, 4.

Subtype B I B: add:—

- To B I B, 1, rev. (ii) = i of B I B, 2A), (d) 19.3/1.25, *C. Syll.*, no. 39.
 To B I B, 5, new rev: (iii) $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3 / 3, 9 /$ none, really a B I C rev. / 1. / $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\omega m\nu\Delta H\nu\omega\omega$
 (a) 19.3/1.248, Hd. X, 5.
 To B I B, 6, new rev: (ii) $3\frac{1}{2} \times 4 / 2\frac{1}{2}, 9 /$ pell. $4\frac{1}{2}, 7\frac{1}{2} / 1.$ / $-\nu m\nu\eta\eta\eta\Delta\nu$
 (a) 15.5/1.00, *C. Syll.*, no. 40.
 To B I B, 8, rev (i) (b) 19.1/1.234, Hd. X, 6.

Subtype B I C: add:

- To B I C, 1, correct obv. legend, $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\eta m\nu\Delta H\nu\eta\omega\omega$,
 and new rev: (ii) $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3 / 3, 9 / - / 1.$ / $--- \Delta m\nu\Delta H\nu\Delta\omega$
 (a) 19.3/1.248, Hd. X, 7.
 To B I C, 4, correct obv. legend, $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\eta m\nu\Delta H\nu\Delta\omega\omega$,
 and new rev: (ii) $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2} / 3, 9 / - / 1.$ $--- \omega m\omega\omega\nu\Delta\eta\omega\omega$ (for annulets in rev. legend,
 cf. B I A, 6 and 7 which may be later than B I A, 8 and 9).
 (a) 19.0/1.228, Hd. X, 8.

Phase B III

Subtype B III B; add, not in chronological order:—

- B III B, 13, h., slight chin as B III B, 1-3 / - / 10 / none / none
 (rev): (i) $3 \times 6 / 3, 9 / 4$ pel. (2nd q.) 3 pel. (3rd & 4th q.) / no serpent / no legend, spiral winged bird.
 (a) 18.6/1.2, *C. Syll.*, no. 22 ('gilded')
 B, 14, h., nose as B III B, 3 / - / 11 / none / none
 (rev): (i) $3 \times 5 / 3, 8\frac{1}{2} /$ no pel. ? / rest as B III B, 13
 (a) 17.1/1.11, A.N.S. (Pl. xiv).

APPENDIX F (Hoards)

Hoard II (Milton Regis). See article by Mrs. S. (Chadwick) Hawkes and L. R. A. Grove in *A.C.*, LXXVIII (1963), 22. The pendants in B.M. and another group of pendants now in M.M. were neither of them from the same burial as the sceattas.

Hoard VIII (Garton on the Wolds). The finder reports the correct map-ref. as 959/618, not 987/577.

Add Hoard X. FINGLESHAM, Nat grid: TR 326/534:

Found 1965, by Mrs. S. Hawkes, in excavating the cemetery which had already produced a Pada (P I A, 2 (a)) and a Sigebert of Marseille. The grave (145A) contained a male burial and the hoard was in the remains of a leather purse with small bronze fittings (cf. Hoard III), attached to a loosened belt, by the right arm. The hoard was close in content and date to Hoard I. (pl. xiv, 1-8).

8 coins; 2 type A, 6 type B; mean weight of undamaged coins 19.37 gr., of type B alone 19.25. Property of Lord Northbourne. Weights from B.M.

Type A: (1) A2, 4 (rev. ident. with *F. Syll.* no 223; obv. die retouched?) (19.6/1.268) →. (2) New obv. close to A3, 11 (rev. not ident. with Hoard II coin) (19.7/1.281) ←

Type B: (3) B I A, 10 / iii (a) (19.6/1.274) ↓. (4) B I A, 12 / i (a) (16.6/1.076, chipped) ←. (5) B I B, 5 / ii (a) (19.3/1.248) →. (6) B I B, 8 / i (b) (19.1/1.234) →. (7) B I C, 1 / ii (a) (19.3/1.248) →. (8) B I C, 4 / ii (a) (19.0/1.228) ←.

APPENDIX H (Single Finds and Pairs)

Type A: For RICHBOROUGH—A2, read RICHBOROUGH—A1.

Type B: Lindsey, WINTRINGHAM. B III BMC, type 37: WINTRINGHAM (as above); BANBURY.

APPENDIX I (Spectrographic Analysis)

For Hoard VIII (Southend) read Hoard VI (Southend)

Plate III, BII, 4/i; for Hoard VIII read Hoard VII.

A NEW PARCEL FROM THE DOUGLAS, I.O.M., 1894 HOARD (?)

By C. E. BLUNT

In a sale at Sotheby's, July 27 1964, there appeared as lots 8-11 a small parcel of 10th century Anglo-Saxon coins, most of them more or less fragmented, that showed every sign of being the whole or part of a hoard. They were sold as the property of Mrs. S. F. Chandler and are understood to have come from the Isle of Man. The following reigns were represented:—

Eadmund	1
Eadred	2
Eadwig	2
Eadgar	18 + small fragments of four or five others.
Anlaf Sihtricsson	1
—	
	24 + small fragments.
—	

Two hoards from the Isle of Man of this period are recorded, the Andreas find of 1867 and the Douglas find of 1894.¹ The former is not recorded as having contained any coins before Eadwig (except an Anlaf); the latter contained coins of his three predecessors. Grueber records that many of the Douglas coins escaped the inquest and were broken in attempts to clean them.² Unless therefore we have here an unrecorded hoard, it seems likely that the parcel under review was from the Douglas find.

I was fortunate enough to secure all except numbers 1, 2, 5, 16, and 23 in the list that follows. Coins discussed below and marked with an asterisk in the text are illustrated on Pl. xiv. I am much indebted to Mr. D. G. Liddell of Spink & Son Ltd. who has been kind enough to supply a photograph of no. 5 (fig. 1).



FIG. 1. (enlarged)

¹ J. D. A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600-1500*, 8-9 and 127. See also R. H. M. Dolley's *The Post-Brunanburh Viking*

Coinage of York, Stockholm 1958, pp. 26-7.
² *NC*, 1913, pp. 322-3.

A number of these coins call for comment.

Number 3, by the moneyer Norbert, had hitherto been known only from a fragment in the Chester (1950) hoard, no. 252, on which, although the last letter only of the king's name was legible, the first five letters of the moneyer's name could be read. The style of the bust however enabled the coin confidently to be ascribed to Eadred and the authors pointed out the importance of the piece in confirming the attribution to this reign in *BMC* ii, p. 154, of a coin of floral type by the same moneyer, an attribution that Brooke had rejected in favour of Edward the Elder.¹ The present coin, which provides full readings on both sides and is from different dies from the Chester specimen, provides final confirmation of what was deduced in the Chester paper. It has been suggested that Eadred's floral type was issued at a north-western mint,² but the bust on the present coin renders this unlikely.

Number 4 is by a moneyer unrecorded for this reign before the Chester hoard in which there were three specimens.

Number 5 is one of the rare coins of Bedford by the moneyer Baldwin. Others are in the British Museum (*BMC* 1), the Grosvenor Museum, Chester (3 specimens ex the Chester (1950) hoard) and (appropriately) in Mr. F. Baldwin's private cabinet (ex Grantley 1080).

The Eadgar coins include several of considerable importance. Number 12 is the variety described as *BMC* Ib, that is, with five crosses on the reverse. This variety, which is of southern style, is like so many southern coins of this reign exceptionally rare. In fact there appear to be only three other recorded specimens:—*BMC* 139, moneyer Beorhtric; Salisbury Museum, moneyer Biorhtulf; and Chester (1950) 384, moneyer Burnferth, now in the British Museum. Beorhtric is known as a moneyer in this reign at Wallingford, Lymne and Wareham; Biorhtulf and Burnferth at Bath; Sideman at Chichester and Rochester. The reading Sedeman on the present specimen is not undoubted, but seems likely.³

The reading on the reverse of number 14 can be confidently reconstructed from a coin in Mr. F. Baldwin's cabinet from the same reverse die. The rosettes on the reverse show that it emanates from a north-western mint, but the name is not found on Chester mint-signed coins at this time. It must for the moment remain an open question whether it is Wine or Wine(man).

Number 17, another north-western coin, appears to be an overstrike but I have not been able to identify the under-type. Mr. Lockett had a coin of Eadgar by the same moneyer, but of *BMC* iv, which was described as overstruck on a coin of *BMC* i (lot 627 in his sale).

In *NC* 1962, pp. 195ff., Mr. Dolley published a group of ten coins of Eadwig and Eadgar which had certain features in common and which he attributed to south-western mints on the grounds that the names of Barnstaple, Exeter and Totnes were found on certain of them. Of Exeter he recorded one coin of Eadwig, moneyer Æthelgar, and one of Eadgar, moneyer Mangod, and added Eadælfstan as a doubtful Exeter moneyer in the latter reign. Number 18 in the present parcel clearly bears the Exeter mint-name and has certain of the special features to which Mr. Dolley called attention, notably the wide flan, the double initial cross on both sides and the use of large three-pellet stops. There is also a small lozenge-shaped stop between the *æ* and *x* of *EXA* on the reverse. Regretably much of the moneyer's name is missing but we may be reasonably confident of the initial *æ* and quite sure of the final letters—OLD. There is no moneyer in Mr. Dolley's list that would fit this and the only appropriate

¹ *BNJ*, XXVII, p. 130.

² J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, I, p. 98.

³ Mr. Dolley believes that the dies of this variety emanate from Winchester. He has kindly pointed

out to me that in 1964 Mr. Martin Biddle's excavations at Winchester brought to light a unique coin of Eadwig of this type (moneyer Leofric) in mint condition.

moneyer known for Eadgar is Raegenold who worked at Winchester in the reformed coinage. On the other hand a Raegenold is recorded as an Exeter moneyer under Æthelstan (*BMA* 516, reading MOEAXANCECIV, and Forum hoard (2 specimens) reading MOEAXANIECIV). He is also recorded for Eadmund, Eadred and Eadwig, though on coins without mint-name. However his coin for Eadwig, Lockett 2749b, has, unusually, a three-pellet stop at the end of the obverse legend, a feature that provides some link with the coin under review. While certainty must await the discovery of a more complete specimen, the name Raegenold seems, on the evidence available, the most likely on the new coin.

The rarity of coins of Eadgar from southern mints prior to his reform has already been noted. This is no doubt largely due to the fact that we have no southern hoard of this reign.¹ This rarity is peculiarly the case with coins of *BMC* iii bearing the London mint-signature. In fact, up to the present, only two specimens have been recorded of what is normally one of the most prolific mints, one in Stockholm (Hild. 28), moneyer Æthelsige; the other Lockett 3710, moneyer Æthelred. Both these have squat, rather broad, lettering so that the obverse legend is curtailed to +EADGARREXA' and EADGARREXANG respectively, the mint-name in each case being LVN. By contrast the lettering on the new coin, number 19, moneyer Athelwold, is crisp and neater with the result that the obverse can read ANGLORV- and the reverse LVNDOC. There is an extra cross in the reverse field. This type of lettering has certain affinities with the lettering on coins of the reformed issue. Athelwold, hitherto unrecorded for Eadgar's pre-reform coinage, is known as a London moneyer of type vi.

Oxford coins of Eadgar's pre-reform coinage are known (all of *BMC* iii) by four moneyers of three of whom, Æthelwine, Leofsige and Wynnem, a single coin is known. Of the fourth, Wulfs(t)an, there are two. Number 20 supplies a second specimen for Æthelwine, from the same reverse but a different obverse die to the one in the Ashmolean Museum.

Number 22 is a typical product of a north-easterly mint and is only peculiar in reading on the reverse MOTERM and in having an annulet in the field of the reverse, features I have not noticed elsewhere.

In Grueber's original account of the Douglas hoard he records a coin of Anlaf Sihtricsson, with circumscription on both sides, by the moneyer Ingelgar. Carlyon-Britton, also writing on the Isle of Man hoards, illustrates one² but it is not clear whether this is the Douglas or the Andreas specimen. However, as Mr. Dolley has pointed out,³ both are from the same dies. Among the fragments in the present parcel is one that may reasonably be regarded as another of the same king, this time by the moneyer Radulf (number 25). It is a small piece and on the obverse the only two letters completely visible are RE followed by traces of an X. Parts of the letter before R are however visible and, having regard to the possible alternatives, it can with reasonable confidence be identified as an F. On the reverse the letters RAD can be plainly seen. Radulf is recorded as a moneyer of this type on the strength of a single coin in the British Museum formerly in the Lawrence collection and apparently the specimen illustrated by Lindsay,⁴ which Mr. Dolley and Mrs. Martin have suggested probably came from a hoard found in Kilkenny c. 1830⁵. The obverse dies differ, but so little of the same parts of the reverse remain that precision here is not possible.

If we compare the coins in this parcel with the list published by Grueber it will be found that they fit in well. Of Grueber's total of 95 coins, 3 were of Æthelstan, 2 of Eadmund, 9 of

¹ See *Anglo-Saxon Coins* (1961) p. 144 and map p. 27.
on p. 143.

² *BNJ*, V, pl. I, 2.

³ *The Post-Brunanburh Viking Coinage of York*,

⁴ *Coinage of the Heptarchy*, pl. 2, 42.

⁵ *NC*, 1959, pp. 175 ff.

Eadred, 7 of Eadwig, 73 of Eadgar and 1 of Anlaf Sihtricsson. These figures may be compared with the totals for this little parcel on p. 7 above.

Grueber's account of the Douglas hoard is in certain respects unsatisfactory. The description of the coins was written in 1895, the year following the discovery, but it was not published until 1913. The first coin, one of Æthelstan, is headed *BMC* type v but the description is of a coin of type via. The reference to the plate in *BMC* is to a coin of type via but the reference to the text is to a coin of type v. On several occasions he refers to 'fragments; halfpennies?' which has misled subsequent writers into believing they were the smaller denomination.¹ Since true halfpennies of this time are of the highest rarity,² it is likely that the coins described were either fragments of pennies—and the state of the present parcel renders this probable—or perhaps occasionally cut halfpennies.

As ever I am indebted to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley for help and advice in writing this little note and this I gratefully acknowledge.

LIST OF COINS

(Those marked * are illustrated on Pl. XIV.)

EADMUND

- 1 *BMC* I, said to read EZCAALD.

EADRED

- 2 *BMC* I, said to read FREDICS.

- 3* V, Norbert. +EADREDREX; +N(rev.)ORBERT MON(rev.)ETA (broken but complete in mount).

EADWIG

- 4* *BMC* I, Leofhelm. +EADVVIG REX; ∴/LEOFH/+++/ELMō/∴ (chipped).

- 5 II, Bedford, Baldwine. +EADVVIG RE∴; BALD/BE+DA/VINĒ. (fig. 1).

EADGAR

- 6 *BMC* I Cawelin. +EADGA --- +∴; -/APE/-+++/LIN(rev.)o/∴ (broken).

- 7 Eanulf. +EADGARRE-; ∴/EAN-/+++/L.FMō/∴ (chipped).

- 8 Heriger. +EAD ---- -X (pellet in field); ∴/HE(lig.)RIG/+++/ - - - -/ (broken).

- 9 Ingolf. +EADGARRE+I (crescents in legend); ∴/INGO/+++/LFMō/∴ (chipped).

- 10 Manan. +EADGARRE (pellets in legend); ∴/NAN(both rev.)/+++/ANŋo/∴ (chipped).

- 11 same dies (broken).

- 12* Ib Sedeman (?). + --- GARREX; +/Edeh/+++/ANMō/+ (broken).

- 13 Ic Iol(es). +EADGA -- EX; rosette/IOLES/+++/MON-/rosette (broken).

- 14* Winem(an?). --- ADGA ----; rosette/PINEM/-+++/[ESMōN]/rosette (broken).

- 15 Id Elfred. +/EA -- ARREXA; rosette/ELF/o+o/RED/rosette (chipped).

- 16 Another similar (?). Catalogue says 'Brooke 1'.

- 17* Thurmod. -EADGAR--; rosette/ÞVR/o+o/MOD/- Overstruck? (broken).

- 18* III Exeter, R-----old. ----ARREXANGFOVM∴++; +R-----OLDMō∴ E·XA+ Diamond stop after E of EXA (bad chip).

- 19* London, Athelwold. +EADGARREXANG(lig.)LORV-; +ADELPOLD MōLVND(lig.)oc Extra cross in field of rev. (broken and repaired).³

¹ e.g. Mr. Thompson in his *Inventory* account where he refers to 'fragments of halfpennies?'

² *BNJ*, XXXI, p. 46. None is in the Douglas Museum.

³ This coin which was in two pieces when acquired has been most skilfully joined by Mr. Kenneth Howes.

- 20* Oxford, Æthelwine. +EADGARRE+ANGLORVN; +ÆDELPINE(lig.) MONE(lig.)TAOXNA.
 21 No mint, Durand(es). --ADGARREXANG (pellets in legend); +DURANDIE--NE(lig)TA
 Trefoil of pellets in rev. field (chipped).
 22* No mint, Herolf(es). +EADGAR+RE+ANGL; +HE(lig.)ROLF'. ESMOTERM Annulet in
 field on rev. (broken and repaired).
 23 IV? No mint, Thurferth. Catalogue says 'Brooke 4'.
 24 Small fragments of four or five other coins temp. Eadgar.

ANLAF SIHTRICSSON

- 25* BMC 6 Radulf. -----RE·X; -RA·D----- (fragment).

NEW LIGHT ON THE MULLINGAR FIND OF *HAND* PENCE OF ÆTHELRÆD II

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

THE comparative wealth of Scandinavian coin-hoards, and especially of those from Sweden, is such that it may seem unlikely in the extreme that there should be any problem connected with the coinage of Æthelræd II to which they do not provide a clear-cut answer. In fact there is quite a real danger of the numismatist forgetting that the first systematic extortions of the Viking raiders did not begin until sixteen years after the death of Eadgar, and that for this period coin-hoards from Great Britain and Ireland can often be just as critical as their Scandinavian counterparts. For example, the 1914 'Pemberton's Parlour' hoard from Chester¹ still is our best evidence that the variety of *First Hand* with left-facing bust (Hild. Typ. B.1. var. a = *BMC* ii = North 767) belongs early rather than late in the six-year currency of the issue proper, and the purpose of the present note is to demonstrate that it is an Irish find discovered more than a century ago which provides a crucial third piece of evidence linking the *First* and *Second Hand* issues of Æthelræd II. Until now the only coins which really connected the two issues were an only recently recognized 'mule-the-wrong-way-round' in Mr. H. H. King's cabinet², and two coins of Rochester of *Second Hand* type struck from an altered *First Hand* obverse die which in its unaltered state had been employed with at least two *First Hand* reverses³.

The Irish hoard in question is no. 265 in the Royal Numismatic Society's recent *Inventory*, and as long ago as 1960 a hint was given that the entry there might require modification⁴. Mr. Thompson's synopsis ran as follows:—

265. MARL VALLEY, Co. West Meath, June 1841.

150 *Æ* Anglo-Saxon pennies (2 described) with *Æ* and *Æ* ornaments.

(Deposit: XIth century?)

KINGS OF ENGLAND. Æthelred II: 2 + an unspecified number. Lindsay (H), p. 125.

Disposition: The coins were sold in Dublin and two of them were acquired by the Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald of Castle Town Delvin. The fate of the ornaments is unknown. They comprised 1 *Æ* ring, 2 *Æ* balls, and two *Æ* pins with large heads. This hoard was found on or close to a skeleton. Marl Valley is a bog lying between Collinstown and Turin.

It is instructive to compare this analysis with the passage from Lindsay's *Heptarchy* on which it is based, and especially since a comparison of the two may suggest that the source is far from being superseded. The all-critical passage runs as follows:—

1841.—June.—About the middle of this month in Marl Valley, (a bog surrounded by very high hills, lying between Collinstown and Turin, County Westmeath,) a young man being employed in clearing a green patch of island in length about fifty perches and fourteen at its greatest breadth, in the course of his work came on a skeleton, on or within which he discovered one hundred and fifty silver coins, two large silver pins with large heads, a ring of gold about an inch in diameter with a small opening, and two silver balls something about rifle size; the coins were sent by the finder to Dublin and sold for a few shillings, two only of them fell into the hands of Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald, of Castle Town Delvin, and proved to be Anglo-Saxon coins of Ethelred II.

¹ *Inventory* 85, cf. *BNJ* XXXIII (1964), pp. 39–44.

² *BNJ* XXVIII, iii (1957), p. 519.

³ *SNC* 1965, p. 182. That Hild. Ethelred 1083

is relevant is denied *ibid.* 1966, p. 236.

⁴ *North. Munster Antiquarian Journal* VIII, 3 (1960), p. 127.

None of the coins are in fact 'described'—we have no details of type or moneyer—nor is it clear why the *Inventory* should have rejected the possibility, one had almost written probability, that the Æthelræd pennies which Lindsay mentions could have been struck—and concealed—in the tenth rather than the eleventh century. It is not only that considerably more than half of Æthelræd's long reign falls before instead of after the millennium, but all those familiar with Irish coin-hoards, and with the collections of the National Museum of Ireland and of the Ulster Museum, will appreciate that early issues of Æthelræd II are much more strongly represented in Irish finds than late ones. There is the further consideration that Lindsay makes no reference at all to the presence of Hiberno-Norse coins in this find from the 'Marl Valley', and this in itself might be thought to indicate a date before rather than after c. 995, i.e. that the hoard belongs to the tenth rather than the eleventh century.

Other points that come to mind include the following. Firstly, Lindsay is quite specific that the coins were found 'on or within' and not 'on or close to' the skeleton, in other words the association seems certain. Secondly, it is not necessary to imply that Fitzgerald bought the two coins in Dublin. The relationship of (Castletown) Devlin to Teyrin and Collinstown is such that we may suppose that his purchases were of coins which had 'got away' locally before the main bulk of the hoard was dispatched to the capital. It seems a pity, too, that no attempt has been made to normalize Lindsay's spellings of place-names, and the more so because 'Turin' is a form that has no place in any modern gazetteer that the English student is likely to consult. Perhaps more serious, though, is a failure to recognize in the 'two silver balls something about rifle size' the sheared ends of ingots, an almost inevitable component of Viking-Age *hacksilver* hoards of the tenth century from Ireland, N.W. England and the Scottish Isles¹. It is to be regretted, too, that the archaeologist is given no clearer impression of the size and form of the 'A' ring'. In a tenth-century context—and even more in an eleventh-century one—the occurrence of gold invites remark, and a citation '1 A penannular finger-ring' not only would have occupied very little more space, but would have been more than warranted by the object's importance for the archaeologist who has here one of the very few instances of a gold finger-ring being found in Ireland in a securely dated Viking-Age context.

It would seem, however, that there are sins of omission as well as commission. Overlooked by the modern summary quoted, though occurring in a work which figures in its bibliography, is the following passage from the first volume of Richard Sainthill's *Olla Podrida*:—

Just as these sheets were going to press Dr. Smith informed me that he had been to Mullingar, and looked over about 120 pennies of Aethelraed II, all of the Hand type, among which were three of the Exeter mint, whose Reverses read:

BRUN M-O EAXEEST
GODPINE M-O EAXECES
LEOFSUNU M-O EAXE

This last reverse confirms my previous suggestion. Dr. Smith adds, 'these coins were found near Mullingar about a year ago. There was not any other coin in the hoard except one of Eadred. There were also a few bars or ingots of silver, and a very fine silver pin, with a polygonal head; it is about five inches long.'²

Sainthill's 'Dedication' of the volume in question is dated '1st January 1844', and at first sight the phrase 'about a year ago' may seem to militate against any possibility of a hoard

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 126–131, cf. *SCBI*, BM H/N, p. 25, ² *Op. cit.*, p. 184.
n. 12.

'found near Mullingar' being identical with Lindsay's 1841 hoard from 'Marl Valley'. However, there is internal evidence that Sainthill composed his preface after completing his revision of the proofs, and it is abundantly clear that the worthy Cork wine-shipper dispatched his copy to the printer over a period of many months. It could very well be, then, that the sheets in question were leaving his pen in the summer or early autumn of 1842, in which case the identity of the two finds would seem not to be seriously in doubt.

It might be objected that the Dublin numismatist appears to be ignorant of the precise find-spot of the hoard which is described simply as from 'near Mullingar', whereas his Cork colleague, who should not have been so well-informed, gives a precise location, the 'Marl Valley', between Collinstown and Tevrin. In fact this discrepancy is easily explained, and there is good reason why a future edition of the *Inventory* should list it under 'Mullingar'. The name 'Marl Valley' would seem to appear on no map of the area and enquiries addressed by the present writer to the Irish Ordnance Survey and to the local clergy have failed completely to establish even the approximate whereabouts of the bog in which the coins were found. To an English student this may seem astonishing, but factors to be taken into consideration include Lindsay's position as a representative of a class which was still attempting to anglicize Ireland even to the extent of 'Englishing' traditional place-names, and the circumstance that the coins were found at the beginning of the genocidal decade 1840-1850 which saw the population of Ireland halved by famine, pestilence and emigration. An Irish student, on the other hand, finds it not at all surprising that there should exist no local memory of the 1841 discovery, while the balance of probability must be that 'Marl Valley' was some ephemeral christening by the gentry which failed in the event to displace an enduring Gaelic name. Unfortunately there is more than one site 'between Collinstown and Turin' which seems to correspond to Lindsay's vague description, though, to judge from available large-scale maps of the area, it may be thought that the so-called Black Lough near Knockbrach, Edmondstown, is the sort of vicinity wherein the 'Marl Valley' could have lain. For the present, though, 'Mullingar' does not mislead, and especially when 'Marl Valley' is added in parentheses.

At this point mention should be made in passing of another Viking-Age hoard from the same general area, the May 1843—not c. 1844—discovery from near Lough Lene—not Lough Lynn—which Lindsay briefly listed in the 1843/1844 volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Lough Lene, however, lies to the north of Collinstown instead of to the south, and, as we shall see, the 1843 find's composition and date alike are completely inconsistent with what we know of the 1841 discovery from 'Marl Valley'. What is desirable, perhaps, is to draw attention to the points which Lindsay's 1841 hoard from 'Marl Valley' and Sainthill's pre-1842 hoard from 'near Mullingar' have in common, and the contrast with Lindsay's 1843 hoard from Lough Lynn is so marked that we may safely reject all possibility of the 1843 find being a parcel from that of 1841.

In the first place, it should be noted that Collinstown and Tevrin are villages which lie within ten miles of Mullingar, and that Mullingar is the only place of any real consequence for more than twenty miles around. In other words, Dr. (Aquila) Smith coming from Dublin could very well describe the 'Marl Valley' hoard as from 'near Mullingar'. Lough Lene, on the other hand, is by no means an obvious point of reference, and if Lindsay describes a hoard as 'found at Lough Lyn [*sic*]' we may be reasonably certain that the find-spot was not more than a mile or so from its shores. Such a location is inconsistent with the description 'between Collinstown and Turin'. Secondly, Lindsay's 'Marl Valley' hoard is described in a

book published in 1842 as having been found in June 1841, which accords well enough with Sainthill's vague reference in a book published in 1844 which had taken many months to go through the press. Lindsay's Lough Lene hoard, on the other hand, was not found until May 1843. Thirdly, Lindsay's estimate of his 1841 find is 'one hundred and fifty silver coins' which accords surprisingly well with Sainthill's estimate of 'about 120 pennies'. In contrast the Lough Lene find of 1843 consisted of only 27 coins (*not* 25)¹. Fourthly, it should be noticed that in the case of Lindsay's 1841 hoard two coins taken at random both were of 'Æthelred II', while Sainthill's was composed—with just one exception—entirely of 'pennies of Æthelræd II'. Lindsay's Lough Lene find, on the other hand, contained no coin later than Eadgar, and even the two coins of that reign need be no later than the early 960s. Finally, a feature common to the 'Marl Valley' and 'near Mullingar' hoards is their inclusion of silver ornaments and ingots, whereas the 27 coins appear to be the totality of the obviously much smaller deposit from Lough Lene.

A legitimate comment at this point is that Irish coin-hoards composed predominantly of pennies of Æthelræd II would seem to be quite exceptional. Indeed the only parallel that comes at once to mind is the much smaller 1923 find from near Kildare (*Inventory* 134 *s.v.* 'DUBLIN (District)'). Moreover, Æthelræd II pennies in any proportion are not exactly common in Irish finds, the number of hoards where one or more are recorded as present being half-a-dozen at most².

It can be accepted, then, that Lindsay's 'Marl Valley' and Sainthill's 'near Mullingar' finds are one and the same, and it is instructive to attempt a new assessment of the hoard on the basis of the two independent accounts. Of prime importance, naturally, is the positive evidence that the hoard belongs to the tenth century. We are told specifically that all the Æthelræd II coins were of 'Hand' type, and, as we shall see, the recorded details of the legends of three coins of Exeter afford a presumption that both the substantive *Hand* issues were present. In other words, the hoard cannot well be earlier than *c.* 985, while the absence of *Crux* coins suggests a *terminus ante quem* *c.* 991. It seems legitimate, therefore, to substitute '*c.* 990' for the earlier estimate of 'Xth century?' which failed in any case to attach sufficient importance to the apparent absence of coins from the Hiberno-Norse series. A provisional re-assessment of the 'Marl Valley' entry might run something as follows:—

MULLINGAR, district N.E. of, Co. Westmeath, June 1841.

120–150 *R* Anglo-Saxon pennies with *N* and *R* ornaments etc. Deposit: *c.* 990.

KINGS OF ENGLAND. Eadred, *BMC(A)* type?, 1. Æthelræd II, *BMC(A)* type ii, var. a–f, 120–150 (including 3 of Exeter, moneyers Brun, Godwine and Leofsunu).

The ornaments included 1 penannular *N* finger-ring, at least 2 *R* pins with large heads (1 polygonal and the pin some 5 inches in length), and at least 2 sheared ends of *R* ingots together with others (?) more complete. Both the coins and ornaments were associated with a skeleton. The identity of the find-spot ('Marl Valley') is uncertain, but lay some 10 miles N.E. of Mullingar between Collinstown and Tevrin.

Lindsay (H), p. 125; Sainthill, *OP*, I, p. 184.

Disposition: the coins—with 2 exceptions—were supposed by Lindsay to have been sent to Dublin for sale, but Aquilla Smith was able to inspect the bulk if not the entirety of the hoard at or near Mullingar.

There indeed one might very well have had to leave the problem, but there are two further sources which throw considerably more light on the composition of the hoard, and which broadly vindicate the modifications to the *Inventory* summary detailed above.

¹ *NC* 1843/1844 pp. 216 & 217 leaves absolutely no room for doubt on this score. A new appraisal of the find is in course of preparation.

² *SCBI*, BM H/N lists only four (p. 51, nos. 123

& 127, and p. 52, nos. 137 & 154) but we should perhaps not altogether exclude the possibility that the odd coin of Æthelræd II could have been present in p. 51, no. 131 and p. 52, no. 135.

The first of these sources is represented by a run of 13 *First* and *Second Hand* pennies of Æthelræd II now in the coin-cabinet of the National Museum of Ireland, and appearing to derive from the Royal Irish Academy's collections appropriated when the Museum was first set up by the Morley/Hicks-Beach administration of eighty years ago. There are 5 entire coins all of *First Hand* type, the mints and moneyers and details of the reverse legends being as follows:—

<i>Lincoln</i> , Færthen	+ FÆRÐEN M ^o LIND	<i>cf.</i> Hild. 1764
<i>London</i> , Oscytel	+ OSCYTEL M ^o LVNDO	<i>cf.</i> Hild. 2846
' <i>Hamtun</i> ', Lifing ¹	+ LIFING M ^o AMTVN	<i>cf.</i> Hild. 1268
<i>Thetford</i> , Spyrling	+ SPYRLING M ^o DEODFO	<i>cf.</i> Hild. 3810
<i>Winchester</i> , Ingelri	+ INGELRI M ^o ÞINTO	<i>cf.</i> Hild. 4251

In this connection it may be observed that the second letter of the name of the moneyer of the Thetford coin is particularly clear, and is beyond doubt a 'P'. It is to be hoped that this will end once and for all injudicious attempts to restore Hildebrand's aberrant form 'Swyrling' which still creeps into print despite its rejection by no less an authority than the late Professor Eilert Ekwall (*Early London Personal Names*, Lund, 1947, p. 62).

There are 7 fragmentary coins of the same *First Hand* type, and details are as follows:—

<i>Dover</i> , Osferth	+ OSFE— M ^o DOFR	Hild. 427 var.
<i>London</i> , Cynsige	+ CYN SIGE — -VNDOI	<i>cf.</i> Hild. 2294
' <i>Hamtun</i> ' (?), ? ²	—E OF G M ^o H—	? <i>cf.</i> Hild. 1253
<i>Totnes</i> , Manna	+ MANNA M O TOTA—	<i>cf.</i> Hild. 3855
<i>Winchester</i> , Frythemund	+ FR— —O ÞINT	<i>cf.</i> Hild. 4222
<i>Winchester</i> , Ingelri	+ INGELRI M— ÞINTONI	<i>cf.</i> Hild. 4253
<i>York</i> , Thorstan (?)	+ Þ— M ^o EFER	Hild. 934 var. (?)

The one coin of *Second Hand* type is fragmentary:—

<i>London</i> (?), Osulf ³	+ OSVL F M ^o —	<i>cf.</i> Hild. 2877/8/9
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There can be little doubt, though, that it is from the same hoard, and the patina is particularly convincing.

The National Museum parcel, then, is characterized by the circumstance that it embraces two consecutive issues of Æthelræd II, with *First Hand* coins outnumbering *Second*. At this point we may revert to the 'Marl Valley' hoard, and recall that it was inferred that the same two types of Æthelræd II were there represented⁴. The evidence is as follows. Three coins are described as of the Exeter mint, the moneyers being Brun, Godwine and Leofsunu. If we consult Hildebrand it is to find that Brun is there recorded for *First Hand* but not for *Second Hand* and *Crux*, while Godwine occurs in *First Small Cross* and *First Hand*, but again not in *Second Hand* and *Crux*. Leofsunu, on the other hand, is not recorded in *First Hand* but is known for *Second Hand*. The position is not modified if we take into account coins in the British Museum and those recorded in the Fitzwilliam, Hunter and Copenhagen *Sylloges*. In other words there seems a fair presumption that two of the three Exeter coins

¹ Probably Northampton.

² The only —E moneyer at an H— mint recorded in this type in Hildebrand is Leofsig(e) at 'Hamtun' which is probably Northampton. The only —G moneyers at an H— mint are Leofsig(e) and Lifing, likewise at 'Hamtun' which again is probably Northampton.

³ Osulf is recorded by Hildebrand at London in *Second Hand* only. He was, however, a *First Hand* moneyer of Ipswich and a *Crux* moneyer of Thetford. *Second Hand*, of course, is not known of York the fourth mint where an Osulf is known in the first half of the reign of Æthelræd II.

⁴ *Supra* p. 15.

seen by Smith were of *First Hand* type and one of *Second*. Granted that in isolation this argument might be considered far from final—formally at least there seems no reason why Leofsunu might not one day turn up in *First Hand*, even though it might seem a little unlikely that Brun and Godwine should both be found eventually striking in *Second Hand*—the coincidence with the pattern of the parcel of 13 coins in the National Museum of Ireland cannot but impress an Irish student familiar with the pattern of late tenth-century hoards from Ireland and the Western Isles. Once again we must stress how different is the pattern presented by the only other hoard from Ireland with a substantial proportion of *Hand* coins, the 1923 find from near Kildare which has been touched upon already¹. Most of the coins from this quite limited hoard are in the National Museum of Ireland, despite statements to the contrary, and deficiencies in the original publication and in the *Inventory* listing justify a summary recapitulation of its essential content:—

First Small Cross issue—‘*Hamun*’,² Cylm, 1.

First Hand issue—*Canterbury*, Boia, 2; *Exeter*, Brun, 1; *Gloucester*, Leofsig, 1; *Lincoln*, Goding, 3; Grind, 1; Unbeng, 1; *London*, Æthestan, 1; Byrnsige, 3; God, 1; Leofric, 1; Sibwine, 1; *Lydford*, Æthered, 1; *Rochester*, Sid(e)win(e), 2; *York*, Ælfstan, 1; Colgrim, 1; Frostulf, 1; Isu(l)f, 1; Thorstan, 1.

First Hand variety (1. facing bust)³—*Shrewsbury*, Ævic, 1.

Second Hand issue—*Exeter*, Byrnsige, 2; *London*, Ælfwer(d), 1; Æthered, 1; Æthulf, 1; *Lydford*, Godwine, 1; *Thetford*, Eadgar 1.

Benediction Hand variety—‘*Hamwic*’,⁴ Isege.

To be stressed is the inclusion in a much smaller parcel of a much wider range of types and varieties, and in particular one would draw attention to the latest coin which provides a *terminus post quem* of c. 991, i.e. is later than any coin which it is possible to associate with the 1841 hoard from Mullingar.

The second neglected source of information concerning the 1841 hoard is the London sale-catalogue (Sotheby, 8: xi: 1894) of the Sir Benjamin Chapman collection. On this catalogue’s title-page Sir Benjamin is described as ‘of Killua Castle, Clonmellon, Co. Meath, Ireland’, but in point of fact Clonmellon and Killua Castle lie just across the mearing in Co. Westmeath. It is possible that the explanation of the error could be that the post-town was Athboy which was also the nearest railway station, and which is in Co. Meath. What is more important is that Killua Castle is no more than twenty miles from Mullingar, and ten from Collinstown and from Tevrin. In other words, the Chapman seat was situate some twelve miles at most from the presumed find-spot of Sainthill’s ‘Marl Valley’ hoard. It can be shown, too, that Sir Benjamin had inherited a very substantial portion of his coin-cabinet, if not indeed the totality of it, from Sir Montague Chapman who had been very active as a collector in the 1840s and 1850s. It was Sir Montague, for example, whom we may suppose to have acquired, in all probability from a find from near Belfast, the Ormonde pistole that is now one of the glories of the collections of the American Numismatic Society. There were 171 lots in the sale of which the first 27, comprising a total of 183 coins, purported to be composed of Anglo-Saxon coins. In fact the total of Anglo-Saxon coins did not exceed 175, since at least 8 of the coins so described belong patently to the Irish series, and of the Anglo-Saxon pieces no fewer than 92 were of the *First* and *Second Hand* issues of Æthelræd II, a disproportion that would suggest the acquisition of a parcel at least from an Irish hoard even if the cabinet as a whole

¹ *Supra* p. 15.

² Probably Northampton.

³ Cf. *BNJ* XXXIII (1964), pp. 34–38, but this

coin was there overlooked.

⁴ Certainly Southampton.

had not been dominated by Irish coins. What is remarkable, too, is how the pattern of the remaining Anglo-Saxon coins broadly confirms to their overall incidence in Irish finds, and it is made abundantly clear that the Chapman cabinet had drawn little if at all on English sources for its representation of the Anglo-Saxon series. Just how disproportionate, too, is the total of 92 coins of the *Hand* issues can be gauged from the circumstance that the cabinet could boast no more than a dozen pennies of Eadgar, and of *Cruz* pennies of Æthelræd II precisely two.

The ten lots which contained the 92 *Hand* coins were described by the 1894 cataloguer in the following terms:—

- | | | |
|----|--|----|
| 13 | Æthelred II, Pennies (<i>Rud.</i> XXII, 9), Hand of Providence type, bust to right diademed, <i>rev.</i> Hand of Providence between <i>α.ω.</i> , struck at Bardney, Bath, Canterbury, Chester, Derby (2), Exeter, Huntingdon, Ipswich and Shaftesbury, <i>all scarce mints, well preserved</i> | 10 |
| 14 | Others of same type of Derby, Exeter, Huntingdon, Ipswich, Lydford, Norwich, Rochester, Shaftesbury, Stamford and Southampton, <i>all scarce mints, well preserved</i> | 10 |
| 15 | Others of same type of Derby, Exeter, Ipswich, Norwich, Southampton, Stamford (2), Thetford, Totnes, Watchet, and Winchester, <i>mostly scarce mints, well preserved</i> | 11 |
| 16 | Others of same type of Thetford (3), Totnes, Walton [<i>sic</i>] and London (5), <i>well preserved</i> | 10 |
| 17 | Others of London (5), Winchester (2), and York (2), <i>well preserved</i> | 9 |
| 18 | Others of London (4), Winchester (3), and York (2), <i>mostly well preserved</i> | 9 |
| 19 | Others (<i>Rud.</i> XXII, 13), with sceptre before bust, <i>rev.</i> Hand of Providence as before, of Exeter, Lewes, Ilchester, London, Oxford, Shaftesbury, Totnes, Wilton and Winchester, <i>mostly scarce mints, well preserved</i> | 9 |
| 20 | Others of same type of Exeter (3), London (5), and Winchester [(2)?], with various moneyers' names, <i>well preserved</i> | 10 |
| 21 | Others of same type of Exeter (2), London (7), and Winchester, <i>well preserved</i> | 10 |
| 22 | Others similar, of similar type, with bust only to left (<i>Brit. Mus. Cat.</i> vol. II. p. 203, <i>type ii</i>) of Chester (2) and London; and another of same type with sceptre before bust to left, of Canterbury, <i>all very rare, the last an unpublished variety</i> | 4 |

By what can only be described as a fortunate chance, lot 22 was purchased for the English National Collection, and examination of the actual coins in the trays of the British Museum established that the Chester coins indeed had the left-facing bust which a recent note has argued constitutes an early and very localized variant of the *First Hand* issue proper. The London coin, however, proves to be a perfectly normal *First Hand* penny with a right-facing bust, the cataloguer having been led astray by a mis-striking from a very worn die. The Canterbury coin also proves to be mis-described but here we may be perhaps doubly tolerant of the cataloguer's shortcomings. He did at least recognize a rarity which is without parallel in the whole of the coinage of Æthelræd II, and the variety is one discussed in a separate paper in this same number of the *Journal*¹.

¹ *Infra* p. 22.

The Chapman cabinet, then, contained 62 *First Hand* and 30 *Second Hand* pennies of Æthelræd II, and it is noteworthy that the patina of the four coins purchased by the British Museum should prove to be consistent with that of the 12 *First Hand* and 1 *Second Hand* pennies in the National Museum at Dublin. Admittedly the British Museum coins may give a superficial appearance of being marginally darker, but allowance has to be made for the well-known 'B.M. colour', a feature of those silver coins in the English National Collection which have been exposed for any length of time to the London atmosphere. It is only in the last year or two, it may be noted, that the staff of the Coin Room has ceased to include at least one member who could remember the days when the Department was heated by an open coal-fire with a lockable fire-guard! What this present paper is going to suggest, then, is that the parcel of *Hand* coins seen by Aquilla Smith in the Mullingar neighbourhood c. 1842 included those pieces in the Chapman cabinet dispersed in 1894, while the smaller parcel without provenance which passed from the Royal Irish Academy to the National Museum at Dublin represents a proportion of the residue dispersed in Dublin very soon after the hoard's discovery. Sir Montague probably took his pick of the find, and the present writer is reluctant to accept Lindsay's suggestion that the bulk of the hoard was disposed of in the metropolis. It seems much more likely that it remained in Co. Westmeath, and, remembering that c. 1842 Ireland was still virtually without railways, we may wonder whether the statement that Smith 'had been to Mullingar' does not imply a visit to Killua Castle itself. The county town of Westmeath would have been the obvious centre for such an excursion, and a natural route would have been for Smith to proceed to Mullingar by express canal-boat, and to continue to Killua Castle by car. In 1843 the express boat covered the 52 miles from Dublin to Mullingar in seven and a half hours, and the fare was 5/6 (first-class) with breakfast 1/3d and dinner 2/- (wine and/or spirits included)¹. Mullingar, too, was the only place of real consequence in the whole county, and the only one with which Smith could assume that his Munster correspondent would be familiar.

Accepting, then, that lots 13-22 in the 1894 Chapman sale represent a very substantial parcel from the 1841 Mullingar ('Marl Valley') hoard, we have still to consider the implications for the date of the treasure's concealment. Already in the Sainthill account there was a hint that the hoard included both the substantive *Hand* issues (*BMC* types ii *var.* a and ii *var.* b: North 766 and 768), but it would have been to go beyond the evidence to have argued that a 2 : 1 ratio of the issues is to be inferred from Smith's note on the readings of 3 Exeter pennies. In this connection, incidentally, it should be observed that Smith recorded only 3 legends, whereas the Chapman parcel appears to have included at least 9 coins of Exeter. The explanation of this discrepancy is probably that Sainthill edited Smith's communication, and selected the readings which were 'new'. However, the same 2 : 1 ratio is broadly reflected in the Chapman parcel where there are—minor variants excepted—60 *First Hand* pennies as against 29 *Second Hand* pennies. There is a certain amount of evidence that *Second Hand* was not struck on the same scale as *First Hand*—Hildebrand for example records 291 varieties of his Type B.1 and only 192 of his Type B.2, and in the 1923 Kildare hoard certainly deposited in or after 991 there were 24 normal *First* and only 7 normal *Second Hand* pennies². On the other hand, there is more evidence than is usually conceded that the *Second Hand* type was a substantive sexennial issue in its own right—we may instance the neglected implications

¹ Cf. K. B. Nowlan in *Social Life in Ireland 1800-45* (ed. R. B. McDowell, Dublin, 1957), pp. 116-118.

² The *First Hand* total includes 3 coins of York wrongly erected by Wells into a variant.

of the Isleworth find (*Inventory* 203)—and it must be accepted that *Benediction Hand* variety (*BMC* type ii f : North 769) was not present in the 1841 hoard from near Mullingar. Consequently the year 990 may be accepted as a *terminus ante quem*, and the only real question outstanding is how soon after 985 the 'Marl Valley' hoard was concealed. That the interval of time was not very great seems to be suggested by an analysis of the mints of the *Second Hand* coins which may be listed as follows:—

Exeter (6)	Lewes
Ilchester	London (13)
Shaftesbury	Oxford
Totnes	
Wilton	
Winchester (4)	

Granted that Lincoln and York appear not to have been striking in this issue, granted that the output of the crippled mint of Chester was still exiguous, there is evidence in plenty that coin moved freely around England¹. One cannot ignore the absence of coins of mints such as Canterbury and Thetford, and the predominance of coins struck south of the Thames, and the very high proportion of coins from the mints of Wessex, both facts being indisputable, must surely mean that the latest coins left England not all that long after the inception of the *Second Hand* type. We will probably not be very far wrong if we suggest that the 'Marl Valley' hoard was buried in or about the year 986, a far cry, it may be thought, from the 'XIth century?' proposed not all that many years ago.

One minor problem is propounded by the solitary coin of Eadred (946–955) to which reference was made by Aquilla Smith. As is well known, it is quite exceptional for tenth-century hoards to include English coins struck both before and after the great reform of Eadgar, but sufficient instances are recorded that it would be difficult indeed to shake the Dublin doctor's testimony on this point. Admittedly one is tempted to speculate that EADRED could be misread and blundered EADFEA(rd), but the fact remains that Smith was a numismatist who excelled in description, and there are few of his contemporaries less likely to confuse the very different portrait pennies of Eadred—bust breaking legend and head crowned—and of Edward the Martyr—diademed head within an inner circle. There is the second consideration that Sir Montague Chapman would appear to have 'creamed' this hoard from just outside the gates of his demense, and it is noteworthy that the 1894 sale include no coin of Edward the Martyr, though clearly the cataloguer was competent to recognize one, but five pennies of Eadred (lot 8), all apparently of the common *two-line* type (*BMC* type i : Brooke 1 : North 705/6). The inclusion of *hacksilver* is quite an archaic feature of the find under discussion—there are not many hoards from Ireland or indeed Great Britain which include post-Eadgar coins and sheared ingots—and the present writer is perfectly happy to accept the Eadred penny as a parallel anachronism, as a piece of bullion rather than as a coin.

¹ One may instance from this reign coins of London or Southwark and of Thetford found at Cheddar, and of Maldon found at Winchester—

the only coins of Æthelræd II found to date in the highly competent excavations directed by Messrs. Philip Rahtz and Martin Biddle respectively.

In conclusion it may be found useful to have a revised summary of the 1841 Mullingar ('Marl Valley') hoard taking account of all the evidence reviewed in this paper:—

MULLINGAR, district N.E. of, Co. Westmeath, June 1841

120–150 *Æ* Anglo-Saxon pennies (106 listed) with *Æ* and *Æ* ornaments etc. Deposit: c. 986.

KINGS OF ENGLAND. Eadred, *BMC(A)* type i (?), 1. Æthelræd II, *BMC(A)* type ii—*Chester*: Ælfstan, 1; Leomman, 1. *BMC(A)* type ii var. a—*Barnstaple*, 1. *Bath*, 1. *Canterbury*, 1. *Chester*, 1. *Derby*, 4. *Dover*, 1. *Osferth*, 1. *Exeter*, 3 (including Brun and Godwine). *Huntingdon*, 2. *Ipswich*, 3. *Lincoln*, 1. *Faerthen*, 1. *London*, 17 (including Cynsige, Godwine and Oscytel). *Lydford*, 1. *Northampton*, 3 (including Lifing). *Norwich*, 2. *Rochester*, 1. *Shaftesbury*, 2. *Stamford*, 3. *Thetford*, 5 (including Spyrting). *Totnes*, 3 (including Manna). *Watchet*, 1. *Wilton*, 1. *Winchester*, 9 (including Frythemund and Ing(e)lri (2)). *York*, 5 (including Thorstan). *Uncertain Mint*, 1.

BMC(A) type ii var. d.—*Exeter*, 6 (including Leofsunu). *Ilchester*, 1. *Lewes*, 1. *London*, 14 (including Osulf). *Oxford*, 1. *Shaftesbury*, 1. *Totnes*, 1. *Wilton*, 1. *Winchester*, 4.

BMC(A) type ii unpublished var.—*Canterbury*, Leofric, 1.

The ornaments included 1 penannular *Æ* finger-ring, at least 2 *Æ* pins with large heads (1 polygonal and the pin some 5 inches in length), and at least 2 sheared ends of *Æ* ingots together with others (?) more complete. Both the coins and ornaments were associated with a skeleton. The identity of the find-spot ('Marl Valley') is uncertain but lay some 10 miles N.E. of Mullingar between Collinstown and Tevrin.

Lindsay (H), p. 125: Sainthill, *OP*, I, p. 184: sale-catalogue of Sir Benjamin Chapman collection (Sotheby, 8: xi: 1894), lots 13–22: R. H. M. Dolley, *BNJ XXXV* (1966), pp. 12–21.

Disposition: the coins—with 2 exceptions—were supposed by Lindsay to have been sent to Dublin for sale, but later Aquilla Smith travelled to Mullingar to inspect the bulk if not the entirety of the hoard, very probably in Sir Montague Chapman's cabinet at Killua Castle near Clonmellon. More than 90 of the coins were dispersed in the London saleroom in 1894, 4 of them finding their way to the British Museum. Another 13 coins apparently from the hoard are in the National Museum of Ireland *ex* the cabinet of the Royal Irish Academy.

AN UNPUBLISHED LINK BETWEEN THE *FIRST* AND *SECOND HAND* TYPES OF ÆTHELRÆD II

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

ON p. 182 of the *Numismatic Circular* for 1965, Mr. J. D. Brand has drawn attention to a case where the addition of a sceptre to a *First Hand* obverse die of the moneyer Sidewine at Rochester has enabled it to be used with a *Second Hand* reverse in order to strike normal coins of the later issue. Very properly Mr. Brand has urged students to be on the lookout for other instances, but the present writer is convinced that they will be found to be very few and far between. In particular he would observe that it is only with the 'Southern' *First Hand* bust that the addition to the obverse type of a sceptre would not cry out for detection—it is too easy to forget that it is one of the features of the *Second Hand* issue that virtually all the dies appear to have been cut by one hand, whereas in *First Hand* regional schools of engraving are clearly to be distinguished. Moreover there is some evidence that it was the reverse type which was critical for issue in both Anglo-Saxon and Norman times, and the normal *First Hand* reverse die leaves little room for the addition of the extra strokes of the cuff which are for the modern student just as essential a 'difference' as the pellets added beneath the α and ω . What it is planned to publish in this note is a unique coin in the British Museum where alteration of a reverse die has been attempted.

The coin in question was purchased in 1894 at the Chapman sale at Sotheby's. It formed part of lot 22, the other coins, all acquired by the Museum, being two *First Hand* pennies of Chester with left-facing bust, and a normal but battered and mis-described *First Hand* penny of the London moneyer Godwine, a die-duplicate of Hild. 2612. Elsewhere in this *Journal* it is argued that the ultimate provenance of all four coins is the 1841 hoard from near Mullingar in Co. Westmeath (*supra*. pp. 12–21). In other words the possibility of Scandinavian imitation can be dismissed, and it is also clear that the tampering with the reverse die must have occurred something like five years before the striking of coin in Ireland can possibly have begun. As will be seen clearly from the accompanying illustration (*infra*. p. 23, Fig. 1). the penny in the British Museum is from an obverse die of anomalous work, and the obverse legend may be transcribed +ÆDELRE+DREANEO. The reverse die, on the other hand, is a perfectly normal *First Hand* reverse to which has been added two pellets in the field, one beneath the Λ and the other beneath the ω , apparently to secure that the coin would pass as a penny of the *Second Hand* issue. The legend is normal and may be transcribed +LEOFRIC M^o CAENT^hA. The weight is 1.20 grammes or 18.5 grains, a figure which leaves no room for doubt that the coin in fact belongs to the *Second Hand* issue which was fairly strongly represented in the Mullingar find.

Neither the obverse nor the reverse die of the penny in question is represented in the Systematic Collection in the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm, but this is no more than a timely reminder of the fact that our knowledge of the *First* and *Second Hand* issues of Æthelræd II is still far more fragmentary than some students would appear to appreciate. That the obverse die of the British Museum coin is of anomalous work need not occasion concern—in Southern England there exist from several mints such pieces of *First* but not



FIG. 1

of *Second Hand* type, for example at Canterbury Hild. 131 and 215—and there is not the least reason to suspect irregularity of a criminal order. On the other hand, what is clear is that the sceptre is an addition barely squeezed into a quite inadequate space so that the third of the pellets of the head is superimposed upon the king's lips. In other words, an attempt has been made to convert both the obverse and reverse dies into those of the *Second Hand* issue.

The attempt was a clumsy one, but that the alteration should have been essayed has implications which the numismatist cannot ignore. For some years, now, there would seem to have been an undercurrent of mistrust concerning the clear distinction now drawn between the *First* and *Second Hand* types which seem to the present writer indisputably to constitute two emissions of equal status running each for six years. This mistrust seems to ignore the fact that the two issues were struck on completely different weight-standards, while rejection of the sexennial type-cycle raises a number of questions that seem not to have been posed, let alone answered. For example, if there had not been demonetisation of *First Hand*, it is curious that only the far less common *Second Hand* coins appear to have been present in the Isleworth find of 1886. If, too, we attempt to calculate a septennial cycle from 1003 onwards one finds the Oxford mint surviving the sack of 1009 only to cease production without apparent reason at the end of the following year, while a backwards calculation necessitates a parallel rejection of the observed coincidence between the sack of Wirral in 979/980 and a complete disruption of striking at Chester. Nor does this exhaust the objections that can be brought forward to various alternatives to the sexennial cycle calculated from 973, but it is hoped that they are sufficient to show that a septennial cycle was not lightly dismissed as a hypothesis nor a sexennial one proposed without very careful thought.

What is highly significant is that an engraver should have troubled to alter dies. Had the *Second Hand* type not been substantive, the labour would have been superfluous, and it is

interesting to note in particular that the obverse die also was altered. The natural interpretation is that *Second Hand* coins were to be identified principally by the pellets added to the reverse type, but that in cases of doubt reference was made to the sceptre on the obverse. The two designs probably were too close for convenience, but we must not forget that in c. 985 the English sexennial cycle was still to some extent experimental. It is suggested, though, that the absence of muling between the two issues may possess unlooked for significance. When two classes had very different reverses, mules 'the-right-way-round', *i.e.* bringing back into use discarded obverse dies, could very well be tolerated, as the possibility of abuse was negligible. Indeed, a 'follow-up' of the careers of moneyers known to have struck such mules soon establishes that any offence was far from being heinous, unless one supposes that the authorities virtually never caught up with the offenders. When, however, two reverses were as alike as *First* and *Second Hand*, and when the second issue was struck on a very different weight-standard, muling could be thought objectionable, and especially in the first few weeks of the new emission when recourse to it was most likely to be had, since the authorities would need to be on their guard against any attempt to pay in as 'heavy' some of the new 'light' pieces. Indeed, one may wonder whether some such sharp practice does not lie behind that most curious mule 'the-wrong-way-round' of the Lewes moneyer Theodgar in Mr. H. H. King's cabinet (*BNJ* XXVIII, iii (1957), p. 519, no. 20—ominously perhaps Theodgar's latest recorded coin).

However this may be, the Canterbury penny in lot 22 of the Chapman sale of 1894 does represent an important and unpublished variant of the *Second-Hand* type, and throws considerable light on the transition from the preceding issue. That it was picked out and placed in a lot with other rarities reflects the greatest credit upon the cataloguer, and it is no less significant that the lot was bought by the English National Collection. Unfortunately the purchase was too late for the coin to be included in the *British Museum Catalogue*, but it may serve as a reminder of how urgent it has become that the Anglo-Saxon coins in the British Museum be included in the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*. As the coverage of that series becomes progressively more complete, so the absence from it of major cabinets becomes at once more serious and more pronounced.

FURTHER SOUTHAMPTON/WINCHESTER DIE-LINKS IN THE REIGN OF ÆTHELRÆD II

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

For many years now serious students of the Anglo-Saxon coinage have been exercised by the problem of distinguishing those pennies struck at Northampton—an undoubted mint—from those struck at Southampton—likewise an undoubted mint. In both cases the mint-signature is H(E)AMTVNE or a shortening thereof, and one of the earliest discoveries of the Anglo-Irish team working on the Swedish hoards since 1952 was a die-link which effectively demolished Wells' claim that spellings HEAM- were Mercian¹. Here the same obverse die was used by one and the same moneyer, Seolca, with reverse dies reading HAMTV, HEAMTV and PINCST(R), and it could be noted further that the quite unusual Continental Germanic name of the moneyer is one that is found on coins only at 'Hamton' and Winchester. Subsequent research has established that the style of the obverse die in question is one that is peculiar to Wessex, and if anything would seem certain in late Saxon numismatics it is that some of the H(E)AMTVN coins were struck at Southampton.

In this note an evaluation will be made of 66 coins of Æthelræd II which lie in the trays of the Systematic Collection of the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm under the general heading 'Hamtone'. They purport to be by some 18 different moneyers, and their distribution as between the different issues of the reign is shown in summary form in the following table:—

		<i>First Hand</i>	<i>Second Hand</i>	<i>Crux</i>	<i>Long Cross</i>	<i>Helmet</i>	<i>Agnus Dei</i>	<i>Last Small Cross</i>
Ælfget ...	...	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Æthel -noth ...	...	—	—	—	5	—	—	—
-sige ...	...	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
Brunine, etc. ...	...	—	—	9	1	—	—	—
Edmund ...	...	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Leof -god ...	...	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
-sige ...	...	1	—	3	—	—	—	—
-stan ...	...	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
-wine ...	...	—	—	2	2	—	—	5
-wold ...	...	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Lifine ...	...	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
Seolca ...	...	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Spileman ...	...	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Thurcetel ...	...	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
'Ulfhi' ...	...	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
Wulf -noth ...	...	—	—	—	—	1	1	6
-frie ...	...	—	—	—	6	1	—	1
'-ia' ...	...	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
		3	1	18	19	5	2	18

¹ R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Mints of Northampton, Southampton and Hamwich—a Provisional Note', *SNC* 1955, pp. 159–161.

At once there will be noticed the disproportion between the 4 coins of the first two substantive types of the reign, and the 62 coins from the period after the introduction of the *Crux* type c. 991, a disproportion which is not materially reduced when we cut back the second figure by half-a-dozen or so by excluding pieces of doubtful authority. In this connection it is impossible not to bring into consideration the fact that active in the first two types of the reign and closing down apparently very soon after c. 991 there is the mint of 'Hamwic' which is certainly Southampton. In other words there may be thought to exist a distinct possibility that before c. 991 all 'Hamtun' coins are of Northampton, those of Southampton being distinguished by the mint-signature 'Hamwic', whereas after c. 991 the 'Hamtun' mint-signature can embrace coins of both mints, and it is this hypothesis that the present note is designed to test.

For this purpose it seems most convenient to consider the coins of each individual moneyer separately, and to take them in chronological order with observations on each.

LEOFSIGE

First Hand (Hild. 1253): *Crux* (Hild. 1252/1254/1255).

Leofsige is also known for the 'Reform' type of Eadgar and for Edward the Martyr. In both cases there has been a feeling that the mint is Northampton, though conclusive proof of this may be thought not to exist. At Winchester he is not known at the material time, and the weight of the evidence must be that under Æthelræd II he is a moneyer of Northampton.

LIFINC

First Hand (Hild. 1267/1268): *Second Hand* (Hild. 1269).

There is no evidence to connect this moneyer with Winchester, and, while it cannot be pretended that style is decisive in the *First Hand* issue as between southern Mercia and eastern Wessex, the coins, like that of Leofsige in the same issue, have no markedly West Saxon features. Accordingly there would seem every reason for us to continue to give coins of Lifinc to Northampton, and, though again there is no absolute rule to be erected—indeed there are many exceptions—*Leof*—is a prototheme which is met with more frequently outside than inside Wessex.

BRUNING

Crux (Hild. 1243/1244/1245/1246/1247/1247A/1248/1248A/1292): *Long Cross* (Hild. 1242).

The name is one that in this reign appears to be peculiar to 'Hamtun'. Later it is found at London, Nottingham and York—the attribution of Hild. Cnut 48 to Bath cannot well be maintained. In the *Crux* type of Æthelræd, Hild. 1247 and 1247A are die-duplicates, and the unusual workmanship, peculiarly blundered legends and anomalous weights (1.74 and 1.65 grammes = 26.8 and 25.4 grains) mean that they can be assigned with confidence to the class of Scandinavian imitations. We are left with a total of 7 obverse dies, and if the mint had been Southampton it would have been indeed remarkable if not one had exhibited the minor varieties of the *Crux* design that are so remarkable a feature of the transition to the *Long Cross* type. The single *Long Cross* obverse is of a style that is found over the whole country, but again early Winchester coins of this issue are often distinguished by stylistic quirks absent from the piece under consideration. There would seem good reason, then, for us to associate with Northampton all the coins of this moneyer, the imitative pieces excepted.

LEOFSTAN

Cruz (Hild. 1256/1257)

Leofstan is not otherwise known for the reign at a mint in Wessex, and his absence from Winchester is probably significant. In the *Cruz* type he is recorded by Hildebrand at Aylesbury, Canterbury, Ipswich, London, Southwark and York. All in all, then, Northampton seems the more likely candidate.

LEOFWINE

Cruz (Hild. 1250/1261): *Long Cross* (Hild. 1262/1263): *Last Small Cross* (Hild. 1258/1258A/1259/1260/1260A)

In the *Cruz* type a Leofwine is recorded by Hildebrand as striking at Dover, Lewes, London, Maldon, Southwark, Tamworth, Thetford, Wallingford and York—the eschewal of mints in Wessex is quite remarkable. In *Long Cross* the mints are Chester, Lewes, London, Norwich, Romney and Southwark with the odd die at Taunton and Wilton. The *Helmet* issue, doubtless struck by Leofwine at Northampton though no coin of his was known to Hildebrand, shows a moneyer of the name at Chester, Lewes, London, Winchester and York, and possibly at Bath though in the opinion of the writer Hild. 71 is misattributed. For *Last Small Cross* the picture is that a Leofwine is known for Bedford, Chester, Lincoln, London, Newark, Norwich, Stamford, Winchester and York, and again one would stress the disproportion as between the one mint in Wessex and the eight elsewhere. Reverting to the coins of 'Hamtun', the two *Cruz* pennies are of impeccable style, and the two *Long Cross* pennies share a reverse die. Neither obverse has the small bust so very characteristic of Wessex and found in the case of the Wilton coins of the type and moneyer. The absence of the moneyer from Winchester when taken against this background cannot be ignored, and already the case for the attribution of the 'Hamtun' coins to Northampton is too cogent lightly to be set aside. In the *Last Small Cross* issue, Hild. 1258 and 1258A are die-duplicates, as are Hild. 1260 and 1260A. A feature of all three obverse dies is a small cross added to the die before the king's face, and we are probably to accept Wells' suggestion that this was a privy-mark to distinguish coins of Northampton from those of Southampton¹. What is decisive that the coins are of Northampton, for all that a Leofwine had begun striking at Winchester in the preceding issue, is style. All three obverse dies are of a workmanship virtually never found south of the Thames, and the two reverse dies—Hild. 1259 is from the same reverse die as Hild. 1258 and 1258A—even from the pages of Hildebrand can be distinguished as 'northern' by their retention of the *m-o* form of copulative.

THURCETEL

Cruz (Hild. 1274/1275)

Earlier in the reign a Thurcetel had struck at Torksey and at the end of the reign was to do so again and also at Lincoln. A 'London' coin (Hild. 2944) is patently Scandinavian. *Prima facie*, then, Thurcetel would seem to be of Northampton rather than Southampton, but the weights of the two coins appear suspiciously high (1.71 and 1.60 grammes = 26.4 and 24.7 grains). The style, however, is impeccable, and in a Mercian context a tendency for weights to be high has been the subject of informed comment². On balance, therefore,

¹ W. C. Wells, 'The Northampton and Southampton Mints—Part III', *BNJ* XX (1929/1930), p. 63.

² V. J. Butler, 'The Metrology of the Late Anglo-

Saxon Penny: The Reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut' in *Anglo-Saxon Coins* (ed. R. H. M. Dolley), p. 202.

Thurcetel may be accepted as a moneyer of Northampton, bringing to 5 the number of moneyers there who struck the *Crux* type.

ÆTHELNOTH

Long Cross (Hild. 1236/1236A/1237/1238/1239)

Interestingly Hild. 1236 is from the same reverse die as 1237, and 1238 from that of 1239. All five obverse dies are of English work, but none exhibits the bust that is found so frequently in Wessex at the issue's inception. Æthelnoth is otherwise recorded by Hildebrand for the reign only at Lincoln, but Mr. Elmore Jones has discovered that a die-duplicate of Hild. 1238 provides an obverse die-link with Hild. 2171, a London penny of the moneyer Æthelwerd¹. Consequently there would seem little doubt but that Æthelnoth is to be considered a moneyer of Northampton.

EDMUND

Long Cross (Hild. 1249)

The coin is a *hapax*, the only occurrence of the moneyer for the mint, and the more worrying because of the unusually and unnecessarily abbreviated mint-signature where the 'H' is almost as tall again as the 'A'. Nor is it even certain that the second letter is 'A', and one even wonders if it might not be the lower part of an 'R' in which case one might be tempted to read the indeterminate first letter as 'N'—Eadmund strikes at Norwich in the preceding type. In the same type an Eadmund strikes at Colchester and London, using indeed at the latter mint one die with the 'Edmund' spelling. Provisionally, therefore, Edmund must be accepted as a Northampton moneyer, but not without some misgivings.

LEOFGOD

Long Cross (Hild. 1248)

Again the coin is a *hapax* for the mint, but mint-signature and style are impeccable. In the same type the moneyer is known at Cricklade, and later at Worcester. The style of the piece is not perhaps decisive, but certainly it would not arouse remark at a mint such as Stamford whereas at Winchester it might be thought discrepant. All in all, then, the coin can be assigned to Northampton with a considerable degree of confidence.

SPILEMAN

Long Cross (Hild. 1273)

At least since the publication of Ekwall's *Early London Personal Names* (Lund. 1947) serious students of later Anglo-Saxon coinage should have been on their guard against perpetuating Hildebrand's unfortunate misreading 'Swileman', and especially when the engravers were more careful to distinguish 'r' from 'p' than some modern authorities have supposed. Even so attempts are still being made to resuscitate a form of 'Swileman', though solid reasons for persistence in it have still to be offered, while Ekwall's extraordinarily impressive documentation (pp. 64 & 65) is blandly ignored. The root of OE Spileman is probably OG Spileman, the numismatist being able to observe that the name is found on coins only at Winchester and—to anticipate—Southampton, mints where Continental Germanic names are found in

¹ V. J. Butler & R. H. M. Dolley, 'Two Die-Links Relative to the Anglo-Saxon Mint at Northampton', *BNJ* XXX, i (1960), p. 54.

unusual number. There is, in fact, no doubt that the Spileman whom we are considering here is a Southampton moneyer, and the evidence of other coins is that he subsequently removed to Winchester where his career continued well into the eleventh century.

'ULFHI'

Long Cross (Hild. 1276/1276A)

The name of the moneyer is irregular, the mint-signature, anomalous, the flan-size discrepant and the workmanship coarse. It is without hesitation, therefore, that these die-duplicates can be consigned to the limbo of imitations.

WULFRIC

Long Cross (Hild. 1286/1287/1287A/1288/1289/1290); *Helmet* (Hild. 1291); *Last Small Cross* (Hild. 1285)

To begin with it should perhaps be noted that Hild. 1286 and 1288 are die-duplicates, and that Hild. 1287A is from the same reverse die as 1287. We have, then, five *Long Cross* obverse dies, and not one exhibits features characteristic of a majority of Winchester dies of this issue. The *Last Small Cross* dies are of Winchester work but it is the style which is associated with dispatch to distant mints ('Southern B') and which belongs very early in the type. Even more significant is Mrs. Smart's discovery of an obverse die-link in *Long Cross* between Hild. 1289 and 1218, the latter a Cambridge coin of the moneyer Sidwine¹. There can be no doubt in fact that Wulfric is a moneyer of Northampton, and the early date of his *Last*



FIG. 1 (see p. 30, ÆLFGET)

¹ Butler & Dolley, *op. et pag. cit.*

Small Cross coin is of interest because it is one of only two *Last Small Cross* coins of the mint which are not 'differenced' by the addition to the obverse die of a small cross before the king's face. Presumably it was only when the issue came into full production and the weight standard was reduced that it began to be felt necessary so to distinguish the coins of the two 'Hamtun' mints.

ÆLFGET

Helmet (Hild. 1235)

The coin is a *hapax* of the mint with a not very satisfying mint-signature. Earlier in the reign the moneyer is recorded by Hildebrand at Hereford, London and Stamford. That the coin is regular and of the Southampton mint, however, seems indicated by an unpublished die-link (*supra.* p. 29, Fig. 1). The coin on the left is Hild. 1235, that on the right Hild. 4229, a Winchester penny of the moneyer Godeman.

There can be little doubt, too, that the obverse die was used first at Winchester and then at Southampton, and significantly the Winchester coin at 1.51 grammes or 23.3 grains is heavier than the Southampton coin by 0.27 of a gramme or just over 4 grains.

ÆTHELSIGE

Helmet (Hild. 1240/1241)

The two coins are from the same reverse die. Neither obverse die would occasion remark in a Winchester context, and that Æthelsige is a moneyer of Southampton may be thought to be clinched by the following unpublished die-link. The lefthand coin is Hild. 1241, and the righthand Hild. 4155, a Winchester penny of the moneyer Byrhsige.



Again the extent of certain rust-marks suggest that the Winchester striking is the earlier, and at 1.46 grammes or 22.5 grains the Winchester coin tips the scale at 0.35 of a gramme or virtually $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains more than its Southampton counterpart.

WULFNOth

Helmet (Hild. 1283): *Agnus Dei* (Hild. 1284): *Last Small Cross* (Hild. 1277/1278/1279/1280/1281/1282).

Among the *Last Small Cross* coins, the same obverse was used for Hild. 1278, 1279, 1281 and 1282, the same reverse die for 1278 and 1279. The *Agnus Dei* coin provides a hint that we should look for a mint north of the Thames, and Hild 1277 is of the Winchester work which is associated with mints outside Wessex ('Southern B'). It, too, is a heavy piece, *i.e.* belongs very early in the issue, and so the omission of the cross from before the king's face is parallel with that of the coin of Wulfrie already discussed. The remaining two obverse dies are decisive that the mint is Northampton. Not only is there the small cross added in the obverse field, but the style ('Northern A') is one that has no place in Wessex. It is notable, too, that three of the four reverse dies preserve the archaic copulative M-O, another sure criterion of a coin struck north of the Thames.

'—IA'

Agnus Dei (Hild. 1293)

The coin is not of Northampton. The IA goes with the HAM to give the mint-signature (SNOT)IAHAM, and the fragment is in fact from the same dies as a coin of the Nottingham moneyer Oswald in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen (*Sylloge* 1107).

LEOFWOLD

Last Small Cross (Hild. 1264/1265/1266)

The coins are from two obverse and three reverse dies. In each case there is a small cross before the king's face on the obverse, and it is becoming increasingly clear that *c.* 1010, perhaps already at the end of 1009, a decision had been taken so to privy-mark coins of the Northampton mint. One of the two obverse dies is of normal 'Northern' work, and both the reverse dies with which it is employed eschew the ox copulative in favour of the now anachronistic M-O. In the case of Hild. 1264, however, the style is somewhat irregular but broadly corresponds to 'Northwestern', in which case the ox copulative found is what we should expect. There can be no doubt then that in this type Leofwold is a Northampton moneyer.

SEOLCA

Last Small Cross (Hild. 1270/1271/1272)

Two obverse dies are found, and two reverses, Hild. 1271 crossing them. In neither case does the obverse field incorporate a small cross in the type, and both reverses eschew the archaic M-O copulative. The style is purely West Saxon ('Southern A'), and the moneyer Seolca is otherwise recorded only at Winchester and at precisely this juncture. The name, incidentally, is again Continental Germanic. There would have been, then, every reason for us to associate these three coins with Southampton, even if there had not existed the obverse die-link with Winchester to which attention was once again drawn at the very outset of this paper.

The conclusions reached in this note may be summarized in tabular form as follows, there being included under Southampton the coins of 'Hamwic'. Under Southampton a 'w' before

the moneyer's name indicates that he is known also at Winchester, though not necessarily in the same type, while a † after the name denotes a recorded die-link in the same type with the West Saxon capital. It should be stressed that the tables are confined to coins in the Systematic Collection at Stockholm.

NORTHAMPTON

<i>First Hand</i>	<i>Second Hand</i>	<i>Crux</i>	<i>Long Cross</i>	<i>Helmet</i>	<i>Agnus Dei</i>	<i>Last Small Cross</i>
			Æthelnoth			
		Bruninc	Bruninc			
			Edmund			
			Leofgod			
Leofsig		Leofsig				
		Leofstan				
		Leofwine	Leofwine			Leofwine
						Leofwold
Lifinc	Lifinc					
		Thurcetel				
			Wulfric	Wulfnoth	Wulfnoth	Wulfnoth
				Wulfric		Wulfric

SOUTHAMPTON

(Names of Hamwic moneyers are italicized)

<i>First Hand</i>	<i>Second Hand</i>	<i>Crux</i>	<i>Long Cross</i>	<i>Helmet</i>	<i>Last Small Cross</i>
				Ælfget†	
Æthelman				Æthelsige†	
W <i>Æthelweard</i>	W <i>Æthelweard</i>				
		W <i>Godman</i>			
<i>Isegel</i>		<i>Isegel</i>			
					W <i>Seolca</i> †
			W <i>Spileman</i>		

For the sake of completeness this paper ends with illustrations of the Southampton/Winchester die-links recorded in the 1955 *Numismatic Circular* but not there illustrated. The first comprises the two 'Hamtun' coins of Seolca (Hild. 1270 & 1271) and a Winchester coin of the same moneyer (Hild. 4297), and the identity of the obverse die seems in each case incontrovertible. The second die-link is in some ways even more interesting. The coin on the left is a *Last Small Cross* coin from one of the unpublished hoards, and it will be noticed that the reverse legend reads +ÆLFSIGE ON HAMWIC, the very first time that the 'Hamwic' mint-signature has been recorded in a type later than *Crux*¹. On stylistic grounds one would not have hesitated to assign this coin, of 'Southern B' style, to Southampton, and especially since the moneyer Ælfsige is well-attested in the selfsame type at Winchester (Hild. 4037-4045 etc.). Any lingering doubt must surely be resolved by the obverse die-link with the coin on the right, a penny still of the selfsame moneyer struck at Winchester (Hild. 4038).

¹ SHM Inv. 14379 = Stenberger SG 414, a hoard discovered in 1911 at Barshaga in the Gotland parish of Othem.



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SACK OF OXFORD IN 1009/1010 FOR THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE COINAGE OF ÆTHELRED II

By C. S. S. LYON

IN recent years research into the late Anglo-Saxon coinage by R. H. M. Dolley has shown that the obverse and reverse designs of the silver penny were changed at intervals, the old coins apparently being demonetised with each change, and that during the reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut the lifetime of each issue was generally of the order of six years¹. The custom undoubtedly stems from a complete recoinage which took place late in Edgar's reign and which is implied by Roger of Wendover in the course of a panegyric entered under the year 975, the year of the king's death. Mr. Dolley has always maintained that, on the evidence of the coins themselves and having regard to the fact that Edgar died in July of that year, the reform of the coinage must have taken place earlier than 975, most probably in 973. He does not believe this to be incompatible with Roger's text when the latter is analysed and compared with the surviving earlier source from which he drew much of his material—viz Florence of Worcester—but which unfortunately did not record the reference to the coinage. It would, however, be going beyond the evidence to infer that Edgar's reform actually prescribed the regular recoinages which were to become a feature of the English coinage for the next two centuries².

According to the sexennial theory, Æthelred II's last issue, now generally referred to as the 'Last Small Cross' type to distinguish it from the earlier issues of similar design, should have been introduced in 1009 as the sixth change of the series: Mr. Dolley has suggested Michaelmas as the most likely time of year for the change to have taken place.³ It had apparently been intended to replace the previous issue, known as the 'Helmet' type, by a new coinage depicting the Lamb of God on the obverse and the Dove of the Holy Spirit on the reverse, and some of these coins were in fact issued from a few peripheral mints such as Malmesbury, Derby, Leicester and Nottingham before the design was withdrawn in favour of that of Edgar's reform.⁴

The weight standard of the penny had varied considerably since the reform but the 'Agnus Dei' coins were apparently intended to be struck to a standard of 27 grains or so in contrast to the standard of about 22½ grains which was the heaviest used for the 'Helmet' coinage. The weights of 'Last Small Cross' pennies vary greatly, and research now in progress is showing that these are not in the main random variations but are in part the result of deliberate alterations in the weight standard from time to time during the issue and in part are due also to the adoption of different standards at different mints or groups of mints⁵.

¹ See for example R. H. M. Dolley, *Anglo-Saxon Pennies (ASP)*, pp. 24–25.

² P. Grierson, in *The President's Address, NC* 1962, gives a useful critical review of the evidence for the date and extent of Edgar's reform, but his interpretation of Roger of Wendover does not find general acceptance among Anglo-Saxon historians.

³ See for example *ASP* p. 29.

⁴ *ASP* p. 26.

⁵ For an introduction to this subject see Miss V. J. Butler (now Mrs. Smart), 'The Metrology of the Late Anglo-Saxon Penny: the Reigns of Æthelræd II and Cnut', in *Anglo-Saxon Coins* (ed. R. H. M. Dolley).

It is now also recognised that the coins of the 'Last Small Cross' type can be classified according to styles of die-cutting, and that the styles too have regional affinities¹. This suggests that the dies for this issue were cut at a number of regional centres, and were distributed from there to the smaller mints. However, the existence of several coins of unexpected styles from major mints such as London, Lincoln and Chester has prompted the alternative suggestion that all the dies were in fact cut at London (as Domesday indicates was the practice in the time of Edward the Confessor) and that there were several *officinae*, each with responsibility for a particular group of mints: the anomalies could then be explained on the basis that sometimes an engraver would be called upon to cut dies for another who was, for some reason, unable to fulfil his task². Current research indicates, though, that many apparent anomalies are not really such but reflect a national distribution of dies of two different styles at the start of the issue from a centre or centres in Wessex (almost certainly Winchester and perhaps also Exeter), excluding apparently the mints in the London area and in north-west Mercia. London and Mercia had a different distribution from a centre which—perhaps because of Danish attacks on London in the late autumn of 1009—seems to have been Chester, so that at many Mercian mints, including Oxford and Wallingford, there is an overlap. Subsequently dies were cut at other centres, including London, York, Lincoln and Canterbury, modelled on those of the initial distribution but differing from them in many minor details, and were distributed to mints in their own area as the dies of the initial distributions wore out³.

Coins struck from dies of the initial distributions are, with relatively few exceptions, on the heavy weight-standard of the 'Agnus Dei' type, i.e. approximately 27 grains. Subsequently the weight-standard appears to have fallen steadily, some later styles being associated with coins averaging 18 grains or even less. It is significant, therefore, that all 18 coins of the Oxford and Wallingford mints which are listed for the type in B.E. Hildebrand's 1881 catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm are of the styles of the initial distributions of dies (8 Oxford coins and 5 Wallingford coins being of the Mercian style, 4 Oxford coins of one Wessex style and one Wallingford coin of the other) and that the lightest of these weighs nearly 25 grains and the next lightest almost 26 grains. Also significant is the rarity of coins of this type from these two mints: Stainer, for example, does not list a single coin of the Oxford mint from a collection other than Stockholm⁴.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that all the known coins of the 'Last Small Cross' type from the mints of Oxford and Wallingford were struck at the very beginning of the issue, and if there were historical reasons for supposing that these mints might have been closed for much if not all of the currency of the issue they would be supported by the numismatic evidence and would in turn provide evidence for the dating of the introduction of the

¹ R. H. M. Dolley, *Some Reflections on Hildebrand Type A of Æthelred II* (Antikvarist Arkiv 9, Stockholm, 1958) p. 12.

² See C. E. Blunt, *The President's Address, NC* 1959, p. vi and the reference there cited.

³ York also produced its own dies from the start of the issue.

⁴ C. L. Stainer, *Oxford Silver Pennies* (Oxford, 1904) pp. 13–14. The third coin listed, which is in the Copenhagen collection, is of the 'Intermediate Small Cross' type. There are in fact four Oxford pence of the 'Last Small Cross' type in the Ashmolean Museum (Sylloge nos. 627–630) weighing between 25.6 and 26.7 grains, and one of Oxford

and one of Wallingford in the Hunterian and Coats Collections (Sylloge nos. 882 and 886) each weighing 27.0 grains. It will be noticed from Stainer's figures that there is no clear evidence of a falling weight standard at Oxford within any of the three substantive issues preceding 'Last Small Cross' (i.e. Hildebrand Types C, D and E). In this respect Oxford follows Winchester, as also does Wallingford. However, in the 'Last Small Cross' issue although Winchester begins with an emission on the heaviest weight-standard the bulk of its output is on a much reduced standard, as at most mints other than Oxford and Wallingford.

type. Such reasons are not difficult to find. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records in 1009 the first of the final series of Danish attacks which was in seven years to bring the country under Danish rule, and states that 'after Christmas they (the host) made an incursion away through the Chilterns, and so came to Oxford, and burnt down the borough, and made their way back on both sides of the Thames towards their ships.'¹ It may thus be inferred from an authoritative documentary source that the mint of Oxford was destroyed at the beginning of 1010, and it would not be surprising if the Wallingford mint shared the same fate. The date of the sack of Oxford, taken in conjunction with the rarity of 'Last Small Cross' coins of the mint and their demonstrably early minting, strongly supports the view that the issue had begun only a few months previously—i.e. during the autumn of 1009. The absence of later coins of the issue suggests in turn that the sack was severe enough to prevent the reopening of either mint for several years.



(Enlarged)

Hild. Æ 3900 (27.8 gr.)

Hild. Æ 1730 (21.6 gr.)

By way of postscript, one of the obverse dies of Mercian style used at the Wallingford mint was later employed by the Lincoln moneyer Dreng, as the two coins from the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm illustrated here demonstrate.² Dies of this style are otherwise quite foreign to the Lincoln mint. It is possible that this die was captured by the Danish raiders and was subsequently handed in or redeemed at Lincoln, where they may perhaps have had relatively free access. That it had deteriorated in transit can be seen from the signs

¹ From the translation by G. N. Garmonsway (London, 1953).

² I am grateful to the Royal Coin Cabinet for

supplying prints of direct photographs of these coins.

of rusting and of retooling of the die which appear on the Lincoln coin and which account for the minor differences between the obverses of the two coins. Die movements of this kind are being discovered on a considerable scale as the Swedish material is systematically analysed, not only explaining the occurrence at certain mints of coins of unexpected styles but also illustrating in a vivid way the sorry state of Æthelred's kingdom in the years before its final collapse¹.

POSTSCRIPT

We seem now to have a firm date for the introduction of Æthelred's last type. Mr. Dolley has plausibly dated the inception of the 'Helmet' type to 1003 on the basis of the sack of Wilton in that year and the consequent transfer of minting from Wilton to Salisbury: the former is not known for 'Helmet' nor is the latter known for 'Long Cross'. Whether the removal of the mint to Salisbury took place immediately after the sack of Wilton or after an interval the change of type must have occurred relatively soon after the sack, because the Wilton mint can be shown to have been striking as late in the 'Long Cross' issue as any other Wessex mint. The relatively coarse style of Copenhagen Sylloge no. 1317, with the ethnic abbreviated to no more than ANGL, is found throughout the country and, except at mints in the Winchester area at which the heavy standard is maintained, tends to be associated with a weight-standard which has declined to as little as 20–21 grains.² It is therefore not unreasonable to postulate for the 'Helmet' issue a maximum duration of six years and a minimum of five. This must in my view cast serious doubt on the recent assertion by Mr. J. D. Brand that the 'Helmet' type was merely a variety of 'Long Cross' and did not represent a *renovatio*.³

Notwithstanding the support that this paper may appear to give, it is beyond its scope to examine the theory that there was in fact a rigid sexennial type-cycle in Æthelred's reign, depending as this must on the 'Second Hand' issue having constituted a *renovatio*. It may merely be fortuitous that the introduction of 'First Hand' (probably in 979), 'Helmet' and 'Last Small Cross' appears to fit the theory. It seems to me, moreover, that we handicap ourselves unnecessarily by an *a priori* assumption that there was this fixed conception, because in so doing we may obscure the economic purpose behind the series of type-changes which began with Edgar's recoinage and was to characterise the English coinage for nearly two centuries.

¹ This paper has its origins in research undertaken jointly by Mr. Dolley and myself during our visit to the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm in 1962, and I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to him for his help and encouragement.

² At London there is at this time, both in this style and in the 'Subsidiary Long Cross' style which appears to be contemporary with it, a reversion to

the full 27-grain standard. An indication of heavy weight is given by a pellet in each of two opposite angles of the long cross, though some coins without the pellets are also found to be struck to this standard.

³ J. D. Brand, 'Meretricious Metrology', *SNC* 1967, pp. 63–65, and 'The "Reform" of Eadgar in 973', *ibid* pp. 94–95.

STEPHEN AND THE ANARCHY 1135-1154

By R. P. MACK

HENRY I died on December 1st 1135 leaving his daughter Matilda as the sole representative of the legitimate line of the Dukes of Normandy and with therefore some claim to the throne of England. But Matilda was not popular with the barons and on Henry's death they elected Theobald, the eldest son of Henry I's sister Adele. However, Stephen, Theobald's younger brother, on hearing of this crossed over to England and had himself crowned King actually while the elections were taking place in Normandy.

STEPHEN¹ (1135-54)

Stephen was an attractive personality and popular in both England and Normandy. He was brave and generous, his faults being a certain lack of firmness and strength of character and uncertainty in making decisions in difficult circumstances. He married Matilda, daughter of Eustace of Boulogne. Throughout his reign there was considerable turmoil and confusion and when the Empress Matilda came to England in 1139 to try and obtain the throne, with the help of her half-brother, Robert earl of Gloucester, there was more or less open warfare between the two sides, the Empress being supported in the north by her uncle, David I of Scotland. During this period Stephen, who with the help of his brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, had the support of the church and controlled most of the wealth of the country, held the eastern part of England whilst the Empress with headquarters at Bristol and Gloucester controlled most of the west. It was at this time that many barons raised their own little armies, fortified their castles and joined in the struggle purely for selfish reasons, often plundering their neighbours and supporting whichever side they thought was winning. Many towns and villages suffered heavily and there was much brutality.

On February 2nd 1141 the battle of Lincoln was fought and Stephen taken prisoner. The Empress Matilda was then formally elected Queen. The coronation was to have taken place at Westminster but was delayed because the citizens of London were demanding the release of the King. About this time, Queen Matilda, Stephen's wife, with the help of William of Ypres, raised an army in East Anglia and Kent and in June marched on London and then on to Winchester where she laid siege to the forces of earl Robert and the Empress. By September the Empress found her position in Winchester untenable and retreated to Gloucester but earl Robert was not so fortunate and he was captured at Stockbridge, some nine miles from Winchester. On November 1st 1141 Stephen was released and exchanged for earl Robert. For the next few years it seems that Stephen's position in the country was somewhat improved, due partly to reports of his having been ill-treated whilst a prisoner. But the country was still in a very unsettled state and fighting continued at intervals. Earl Robert died in 1147 and after this the Empress Matilda took no further part in the struggle and left England for good in 1148. When her son, Henry of Anjou, came to England in January 1153 at the request of the beleaguered garrison in Wallingford Castle he met with considerable success and being joined by the earls of Chester and Leicester marched in

¹ *English Historical Documents* vol. ii, 1042-1189. A. L. Poole, *Oxford History of England, Domesday to Magna Carta* 1087-1216.

triumph through the midlands. Stephen, having been defeated at Malmesbury, found there was little he could do to stop him and when his eldest son Eustace died in October 1153 he was no doubt glad of the opportunity for a compromise and Henry was made his successor and heir. Stephen died at Dover on October 25th 1154¹.

In both his standard work *English Coins*² and his *British Museum Catalogue* ('Norman Kings') Brooke has divided the regular coinage of this reign into seven main types. In the following pages I have adhered to Brooke's numbered classification but it is doubtful whether three of these types, and possibly a fourth, were in fact regular substantive issues. The system of changing the type every three years seems to have broken down during the anarchy of the Civil War period and there is good evidence for supposing that the first type was not changed until 1141. The last type (Type 7) probably commenced about the time of the cessation of hostilities and it continued to be struck after Stephen's death in 1154 until the inception of the new coinage of Henry II in 1158. At some time during the intervening years between 1141 and 1153 the coins classified by Brooke as Types 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 were struck. Of these the surviving specimens of Types 3, 4 and 5 are of the greatest rarity and the mints, so far as identifiable, are confined to the East Midlands from which it seems almost certain that these 'types' were not regular issues but should be classified as 'Local Variants'. No coin of the London mint is known of these three 'types' which is not surprising considering the poor standard of their execution and die engraving. Type 6 too is very rare but this is in all probability a substantive type. Although struck at widely separated mints these were all in royalist territory and the workmanship of the coins is good. There remains Type 2 and whilst hesitating to suggest a run of ten to twelve years for a single type there is evidence that this could well have been the case. However the whole period is so confusing and so wrapped in mystery, particularly in the matter of chronology, that for the present we must be content to wait until further evidence is forthcoming in the shape of finds or, better still, a new hoard which would throw fresh light on the intriguing and difficult coinage of the reign.

In the following pages in Types 1, 2 and 7 a list of the known mints with moneyers is given, with readings. In Types 3, 4, 5 and 6 and the irregular and baronial coinage an attempt has been made to produce a corpus of all the known coins. This is as complete as the writer could make it but there are bound to be omissions. An exception to the above is the irregular coins of Type 1 with meaningless legends, Nos 198-205, and some of the Scottish Border coins when only a few representative pieces are included.

In the list of coins the following abbreviations are used:—

B.M.: British Museum.

Nottingham: Nottingham Castle Museum.

Oxford: The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Edinburgh: National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

Cambridge: The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Chatsworth: The Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth, Derby.

An asterisk indicates a coin is illustrated.

References are as follows:—

NC: *Numismatic Chronicle*.

BNJ: *British Numismatic Journal*.

¹ See also W. J. Andrew's 'A Numismatic History of the Reign of Stephen', *BNJ*, vols. vi, viii, x.

² G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*. Revised edition, 1950.

- BMC*: *British Museum Catalogue, Norman Kings*, 1916.
 Brooke: *English Coins*, revised edition 1950 by G. C. Brooke.
 Burns: *The Coinage of Scotland* by E. Burns, 1887.
 Stewart: *The Scottish Coinage* by I. H. Stewart, 1955.
 Thompson: *Inventory of British Coin Hoards* by J. D. A. Thompson.

The following are the coins of the reign.

MULE STEPHEN TYPE 1 and HENRY I TYPE 15.

- Obv.* Similar to Stephen Type 1, crowned bust to the right with sceptre in right hand.
Rev. Similar to Henry I Type 15, quadrilateral on cross fleury.

LONDON MINT

1. *O.* + STIEFNE
R. + ALGAR ON LVND

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| * (a) B.M. | 24.5 g. |
| (b) B.M. | 21.4 g. |
| (c) Mack ex Baldwin (corroded) | 21.2 g. |

Five of these coins have been recorded, all from the the same dies¹, but two cannot now be traced. They are made of copper plated with silver and are contemporary forgeries². Information concerning the provenance of the B.M. coins was destroyed by enemy action during the war.

MULE HENRY I TYPE 15 and STEPHEN TYPE 1.

- Obv.* Similar to Henry I Type 15.
Rev. Similar to Stephen Type 1.

2. *O.* + HENRICVS
R. Illegible

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| * B.M. From the South Kyme find | 22.1 g. |
|---------------------------------|---------|

TYPE 1 (c.1135 to c.1141).

Obverse. Bust of the King to the right, crowned and diademed and holding in his right hand a sceptre in front of his face. The inscription, which reads either STIEFNE, STIEFNE REX, STIEFNE R, STIEFNE RE, STIFNE, STIFNE R, STIFN REX, STEFANVS R, is placed around, generally divided by beaded inner and outer circles. The inner circle, which is normally only partial, is omitted on quite a number of dies of both London and the provincial mints. On these coins, some of which have an annulet on the King's shoulder, the face is often larger and the bust less finely executed³.

Reverse. Cross moline, the claws joined so as to make an eight foil; in each angle a fleur-de-lis springing from the junction of two claws. An annulet is sometimes placed at the end of each limb. The name of the moneyer and mint placed around between two beaded circles. The lettering is very similar to that of the last type of Henry I (*BMC* Type 15).

Average weight about 21.5 grains.

This type is often referred to as the 'Watford Type' on account of the large number, well over six hundred, which were found near Watford, Herts., in 1818.

In the Dartford (1825), Sheldon (1867), Linton (1883), Nottingham (1880) and South Kyme finds, coins of the last type of Henry I (*BMC* Type 15) were found in company with

¹ *BNJ*, iii, p. 288.

² *NC*, 1901, pp. 283-284.

³ E.g. no. 22e.

this type of Stephen. Therefore there can be no doubt that this was the first type of the reign. It is quite possible that this issue continued to be struck until 1141 but owing to the confused state of the country (and of the coinage) at the time of the anarchy it is impossible to be sure of the date of its termination.

The following are the recorded mints and moneyers for Type 1.

The fullest reading is given in each case, but readings vary with different dies.

3. BEDFORD

JOHN BETFO

4. BRISTOL

(a) + FARDEIN:ON:BRIST:

(b) + GVRDAN:ON:BR:

(c) + TVRCHIL:ON:BRIST:

5. BURY ST. EDMUNDS

(a) + ACEL:ON:SANT

(b) + GILEBERT:ON:EDM or SA

(c) + IVN:ON:[]MV

6. CANTERBURY

(a) + AEDFARD:ON:CANTE

(b) + AL[GAB]ON:CANT

(c) + GODHESE:ON:CA:

(d) + IVN:ON:CANTPA

(e) + RODBERT:ON:CA:

(f) + PILLELM:ON:CANT

(g) + PVLFPINE:ON:CANB

(h) + PVLFRIC:ON:CAN

7. CARDIFF

+ PILLEM:ON:CARDI

From London made dies as distinct from the locally made dies used at Carlisle.

CARLISLE (See Scottish Border Coins)

279. + EREBALD:ON:CARD:

277. + WILEALME:ON:CARD

282. + ODARD:ON[CARD:] (probably)

All from locally made dies.

8. CASTLE RISING¹

+ BERTOLD:ON:RI

9. CHESTER

(a) + ALMER:ON:CES:

(b) + RAVENSPERT:ON:CE:

(c) + THVRBER:ON:CEST

(d) + WALTER or PALTR:ON:CESTR:

10. CHICHESTER

+ GODPINE:ON:CICES:

11. COLCHESTER

(a) + ALFPINE:ON:COLIE

* (b) + EDPARD:ON:COLE

(c) + SAFARE:ON:COL

¹ BNJ, xx, p. 117.

12. DURHAM

- (a) + FOBVND:ON:DVNI:
 (b) + HENRI:ON:DVN[

281. 'EDEN' (Carlisle?)

+ EREBALD:ON:EDEN:

Possibly struck at Carlisle and issued at Edinburgh. (See Scottish Border Coins).

13. EXETER

- (a) + AILRIC:ON:EXCES:
 (b) + ALGAR:ON:EXC
 (c) + BRIHTPION:EXCE:

14. GLOUCESTER

- (a) + ALFPINE:ON:GOLPE
 * (b) + GILLEBERT:ON:GLO
 (c) + RALF:ON:GLOECE
 (d) + PIBERT:ON:GLOPE

15. HASTINGS

- (a) + RODBERT:ON:HA
 (b) + SATINE:ON:HAST
 (c) + PENSTAN:ON:HAS

16. HEREFORD

- (a) + EDRICVS:ON:HEREF:
 (b) + SIBERN:ON:HER
 (c) + PTTRIC:ON:HEREFD

or

- * (d) + PICRICE:ON:HERE

or

- * (e) + PICRIC:ON:HERE

Hereford was one of the Angevin strongholds early in the reign but in 1138 it capitulated to King Stephen. Being cut off from London, the moneyers, of whom there seem to be two or three working at the same time, had to make their own dies and some of their coins are from very curious 'local' dies, notably those by the moneyer Picric, which have a particularly grotesque representation of the King. Later in the reign, probably about the year 1143 and after a memorable siege, Hereford was recaptured by the Angevin party and Henry of Anjou struck coins there.

17. IPSWICH

- (a) + AEDGAR:ON:GIPE
 (b) + EDMVND:ON:GIPE
 (c) + OSBERN:ON:GIP
 (d) + PATEN:ON:GIPE

18. LAUNCESTON

+ PILLEM:ON:LANSA

19. LEICESTER

- (a) + SAMAR:ON:LEREC:
 (b) + SIMVN:ON:LERE:

20. LEWES

- (a) + HERREVI:ON:LEPE:
- (b) + OSBERN:ON:LEPE:
- (c) + PILLEM:ON:LEPE:

21. LINCOLN

- (a) + ARNFI:ON:[]O
- (b) + GLADEPIN:ON:NICO
- (c) + OSLAC:ON:NICO *or* L
- (d) + RATVLF:ON:NIC *or* RAWVLF:ON:LIN
- (e) + REINALD:ON:NICO
- (f) + SIGFARD:ON:NICO *or* SIGVARD:ON:NICO *or* SIWARD:ON:LIN *or* SIGVARD:ON:LIN

The earliest reading of mint name is NICOLE, later spellings being LINCOL.

22. LONDON

- (a) + ADELARD:ON:LVN
- (b) + ALFRED:ON:LVN *or* + ALVERED:ON:LVN:
- (c) + ALPINE:ON:LVNDEN
- (d) + ALGAR:MAN:ON:LV
- * (e) + ALISANDER:ON:LV
- (f) + BALDEPIN:ON:LVN
- (g) + BRICMAR:ON:LV:
- (h) + DERREMAN:ON:LV *or* + DEREMAN:ON:LVN:
- (i) + ESTMVND:ON:LVN
- (k) + GODRICVS:ON:LVN *or* + GODRIC:ON:LV
- (l) + LEFRED:ON:LVND: *or* LIEFRED:ON:LVND:
- (m) + ROBERT:ON:LV
- (n) + ROGIER:ON:LV:
- * (o) + SMEAPIN:ON:LV *or* SMEPINE:ON:LVN:
- (p) + TOVT:ON:LVNDE
- (q) + PVLFPINE:ON:LV:

The Abbey of Reading was entitled to one moneyer at London. This privilege had been granted in Henry I's reign in lieu of the grant of a mint and moneyer actually at Reading and Stephen had confirmed it on his accession. The abbey coins may be recognised by having an annulet on the crown and on the king's shoulder (No. 22(o)). The moneyers are SMEAPINE and LIEFRED and the king is styled STEFANVS R. These two moneyers apparently used the same obverse die, with high arched crown.

23. NORTHAMPTON

- + PAEN:ON:NORHAN

24. NORWICH

- (a) + AEDSTAN:NORP:
- (b) + AILWI:ON:NORPIC:
- (c) + ALFTARD:ON:NOR
- (d) + ETREI:ON:NORPI:
- (e) + ETSTAN:ON:NORPI:
- (f) + EVSTACE:ON:NORPI:
- (g) + GODPINE:ON:NOR
- * (h) + OTERCHE:ON:NORPIC:
- (j) + SIBTRIC:ON:NORPI
- (k) + SYNEMAN:ON:NOR
- (l) + SPEDMAN:ON:NOR
- (m) + WALTIER *or* FALTIER:ON:NORP
- (n) + PILLEM:ON:NORPI *or* PILLELM:ON:NOR:

25. NOTTINGHAM

+ SPEIN:ON:SNOT: *or* SNOTIE:

26. OXFORD

- * (a) + GAHAN:ON:OXEN
- (b) + RAPVLF:ON:OXE:
- (c) + SPETIG:ON:OXEN

27. PEMBROKE

- * + GILPATRIC:ON:PAN

28. PEVENSEY (?)

+ HERV[]ON:PEV

South Kyme No. 203. Presumably this mint and not Lewes but the reading is not certain.

29. SALISBURY (†)

+ STANGHVN:ON:SA

South Kyme Nos 204 and 298. Presumably the Type 7 Salisbury moneyer STANVNG but this is by no means certain.

30. SHAFTESBURY

- (a) + RICARD:ON:SAFTE:
- (b) + SAGRIM:ON:SA:

31. SHREWSBURY

- (a) + RAVENSART:ON:SCR
- (b) + RODBERT:ON:SROB: *or* SCROB

The coins by Ravensart are from locally made dies.

32. SOUTHWARK

- (a) + ALPINE:ON:SVD:
- (b) + TVRCHIL:ON:SVD:
- (c) + PVLFPOLD:ON:SV *or* WLPOLD:ON:SV:

33. STAFFORD

- * + GODRIC:ON:STAFO:

34. STAMFORD

- (a) + LEPSI:ON:STANFO:
- (b) + SIPARD:ON:STA

35. SUDBURY

- (a) + GOD[]ON:SDB
- (b) + GOIMER:ON:SVDB
- (c) + SIGAR:ON:SVT

36. TAUNTON

+ ALFRED:ON:TAN

37. THETFORD

- * (a) + BALDEFIN:ON:TETE
- (b) + GEFFREI:ON:TETFE
- (c) + ODDE:ON:TETFOR *or* + ODE:ON:TETFORT *or* TET:FORT

38. WARWICK

- (a) + EDRED:ON:PARPI:
 (b) + EVERARD:ON:PAR:
 (c) + LEFRIC:ON:WAR:

39. WILTON

- (a) + FALCHE:ON:PILTVN
 (b) + TOMAS:ON:PILTVN or TVMAS:ON:PILTVN

40. WINCHESTER

- (a) + ALPOLD:ON:PIN:
 (b) + GEFREI:ON:PINC:
 (c) + KIPPIS or HIPPIG:ON:PINC:
 (d) + ROGERVS:ON:PIN:
 (e) + ROGIER:ON:PINCES
 (f) + SALET:ON:PINCE:
 (g) + SIPARD:ON:PNC: or SIWARD:ON:PINCE:
 (h) + STIEFNE:ON:PIN:

41. WORCESTER

- (a) + ALARD:ON:PIREC
 (b) + GODRIC:ON:PIREC:
 (c) + FYLFRIC:ON:PIREC:

42. YORK

- (a) + AVTGRIM:ON:EVER:
 * (b) + LAISIG:ON:EVERPI:
 (c) + MARTIN:ON:EVER:
 (d) + TVRSTAN:ON:EVER:
 (e) + VLF:ON:EVERERIC or EVERPIC
 (f) + OTBYRN:ON:EVER:
 (g) + STANCHIL:ON:EV

Many of the coins of Type 1 have the moneyer's or mint name apparently hammered out. This was probably done to disguise the authority issuing the coins in difficult times when the moneyers were doubtful whether to support King or Empress. This is particularly noticeable in some coins of Stamford, Lincoln and Nottingham, which sometimes also have the King's name obliterated.

On some coins the initial cross on the reverse is out of line with the reverse design. This occurs in other types as well.

COINS OF TYPE 1 WITH OBERSE READING PERERIC.

When Henry I died in December, 1135, there was some confusion in the country as to who would succeed to the throne and Stephen's claim was not really fully substantiated until he got the support of the Church and his election confirmed by the Pope early in 1136. During this period of uncertainty the coins with the obverse inscription PERERIC, to which no definite meaning could be attached, may have been struck¹. All these coins are of good silver and weight and there is no reason to suppose that they were other than the true coinage of the

¹ For further discussions on the meaning of the PERERIC legend see *BMC*, pp. lxxxiiiff, *NC* 1850, pp. 165ff, *NC*, 1896, p. 64, *BNJ*, vol. vii, pp. 81ff,

NC, 1915, Proceedings, p. 37, *NC*, 1915, pp. 109ff, but all are unconvincing.

realm. That the coins were issued early in the reign is confirmed by finds¹. There were six Pereric coins from the South Kyme find associated with Henry I type 15 and Stephen type 1, two from the Watford, also with coins of Henry I, one from the Nottingham, one from the Sheldon and two from the Linton. In the Linton find they were associated with forty pennies, cut halfpennies and farthings of Stephen type 1 and thirty-nine pennies, cut halfpennies and farthings of Stephen type 2.

The use of the early form of the spelling of NICOLE for Lincoln instead of the later LINC and the early spelling of the Lincoln moneyers RAPVLF and SIPARD instead of the later RAWVLF and SIGVARD also confirm the issue as being an early one.

An alternative suggestion is that the Pereric coins were struck during the captivity of Stephen between 2nd February and 2nd November 1141. During this period there was much confusion and uncertainty all over the country and many barons in consequence supported the side whose fortunes at the moment seemed most favourable. The moneyers were in an extremely difficult position as they were compelled by law to place their names and place of mintage on the reverse of the coins they issued, thereby publicly proclaiming which side they supported. Thus, if a moneyer openly placed his name on the reverse of a coin, the obverse of which bore the name and title of the Empress, should King Stephen at some later date be released and regain the throne, a hope which was undoubtedly borne by many, that moneyer would be held to be a traitor to the King. It seems possible therefore that a moneyer who did not want to commit himself may have deliberately substituted PERERIC for the King's name, a meaningless word at which neither side could take offence and perhaps bearing some resemblance to both partisans names and titles.

But as already stated most of the known Pereric coins are of standard weight and fineness and all the dies appear to have come from a central distributing authority, presumably London. It therefore seems unlikely that they were struck after the outbreak of the Civil War when much of the country was divided and in a state of turmoil, particularly as Bristol, which was at this time in the hands of the Empress Matilda, appears as one of the mints, and the first of these two suggestions seems more likely to be the correct one. But the word PERERIC which sometimes has the letter M following it must remain as unintelligible to us today as it no doubt was intended to be in the days of King Stephen.

COINS OF TYPE 1 WITH OBERSE READING PERERIC, &c.

The following coins have been recorded.

BRISTOL MINT

43. O. + PERERIC

R. + TVRCHIL:ON:BRIS

* (a) ex Grantley 1303, Murdoch 265, Montagu II 361, Marsham 274.

(b) ex Roth II 158, Toplis From the Nottingham find 18.0 g.

CANTERBURY MINT

44. O. + PERERIC:

R. + PILLEN:ON:CANP:

* (a) BMC 232

21.4 g.

* (b) Mack ex Lockett 1168, Roth I 144, Montagu II 362, Kennard From the Linton find

18.0 g.

(a) and (b) are from the same pair of dies.

¹ The hoards are discussed in detail later see pp. 101 ff.

LINCOLN MINT

45. O. + PERERIC:

R. + RAPVLF:ON:NICO:

- * (a) BMC 233 ex Cove-Jones 316 20.8 g.
 * (b) ex Mossop, Grantley 1304, Rashleigh 633 19.2 g.
 (c) Oxford ex Marshall 80, Roth II 159 20.6 g.
 (d) Mack ex Youde. From the South Kyme find 21.3 g.
 (e) Present whereabouts unknown. From the South Kyme find 21.3 g.
 (f) ex Mossop. From the South Kyme find 21.7 g.
 (g) Hill ex Drabble 998, B.M. Duplicates. From the South Kyme find 20.1 g.
 (h) Stewart. Cut half penny

All these coins are from the same pair of dies.

46. O. + PERERICM:

R. + SEPARD:ON:NICO:

- (a) Mack ex Ryan 921, Roth I 145 21.3 g.
 (b) Hill ex Drabble 999, B.M. Duplicates. From the South Kyme find 21.1 g.
 * (c) B.M. ex Lockett 2971, Carlyon-Britton 1509, Rashleigh 634 20.8 g.
 * (d) Chatsworth. From the Sheldon find 19.0 g.
 (e) B.M. From the South Kyme find 21.8 g.
 * (f) ex Mossop, Drabble 722 18.6 g.
 * (g) ex Roth II 158 22.0 g.

All these coins are from the same pair of dies.

LONDON MINT

47. O. + PERERIC:

R. + ALFRED:ON:LVN.

* ex Roth I 143

From the same obverse die as GODRICVS coins of LONDON.

48. O. + PERERIC:

R. + GODRICVS:ON:LV

- (a) BMC 234, ex Rashleigh colln. From the Watford find 22.4 g.
 * (b) BMC 234a ex Pierpont Morgan, Sir J. Evans 22.7 g.
 * (c) ex Ryan 922, Reynolds 73, Kennard From the Linton find 22.0 g.
 * (d) Ballingal ex Lockett 1169, Watters 184, Rashleigh 635. From the Watford find 22.6 g.
 (e) ex Grantley 1305, Murdoch 266, Montagu II 363.

a, b, c and d are from the same pair of dies.

STAMFORD MINT

49. O. + PERERIC:

R. + LEFSE:ON:STANC:

I:ON:STA

- * (a) ex Roth II 160 18.0 g.
 (b) The Hon. Ralph Assheton

WINCHESTER MINT

50. O. + PERERIC:

R. + GEFREI:ON:PI:NE:

ex Drabble 723, Roth I 145

16.0 g.

MULE STEPHEN TYPE 1 AND TYPE 2.

Obverse. Similar to type 1.

Reverse. Similar to type 2.

UNCERTAIN MINT

51. O. [] STIEFNE

R. [] VILAMION

- * (a) Chatsworth. From the Sheldon find 16.0 g.

The obverse of the above coin appears to be from a standard type 1 die but the reverse lettering is crude and VILAM for WILLELM is an unprecedented spelling¹.

- * (b) Chatsworth. From the Sheldon find. Cut halfpenny 8.0 g.

- * (c) B.M. ex Roth II 163². From the Linton find. Cut halfpenny

The possibility of these three coins being contemporary forgeries cannot be ruled out. The reverse legends of the cut half-pennies are illegible.

RYE MINT (1)

52. O. [] STIEFNE

R. [] RIA [] NER []

- * Cambridge

This coin is from regular dies. The first letter of the mint reading appears to be R. The moneyer is probably RAYLE of Rye who coined in Type 2. There is no die link with RAYLE of Lincoln who coined in Type 1.

TYPE 2.

Obverse. Bust three quarters to the left, crowned and holding a sceptre in the right hand. The inscription which, with the one exception noted below, reads STIEFNE or STEFNE, is placed around, divided by two beaded circles; on some coins the inner circle, which is only partial, is omitted altogether (Nos 57, 58a and 63).

Reverse. Plain cross voided, in centre an annulet, at end of each limb three pellets, in each angle a mullet of six points. The name of the moneyer and mint is placed around between two beaded circles.

The lettering, although generally similar to Type 1, is smaller.

Average weight about 21.5 grains.

It is reasonably certain that Type 2 followed Type 1 but it is impossible to say exactly when. It is fairly certain that Type 1 continued to be struck up to 1141 and it may well be that the type was changed on the release of the King from captivity in November 1141. In the Linton find of 1883 there were 40 coins of Type 1, 39 coins of Type 2, 7 coins of Henry I type 15, 2 coins with the 'PERERIC' inscription and 6 irregular coins of the moneyer SANSON which are discussed later in this paper. Types 1 and 2 are linked by a mule, probably of the mint of Rye, and also by the Type 1/2 mules from the Sheldon and Linton finds but these latter are of rough work and may be contemporary forgeries. The Rye coin, however, appears to be from perfectly regular dies. With the exception of 2 contemporary forgeries of Type 2³ the Sheldon hoard was entirely composed of Type 1 and its local variants so that the Type 1/2 mules must have been struck very early in the issue of Type 2.

The only exception known to me of the obverse inscription STIEFNE or STEFNE is a coin of the London mint which reads STIEFNE⁴. This is probably one of the earliest coins of the type and it forms a significant link with Type 1.

As mentioned previously a few rare coins of the type, probably the latest, omit the partial inner circle on the obverse in which respect they form a link with Type 7. One cannot but be struck by the great similarity in the design and general appearance of the two types and

¹ *BNJ*, xxxvi, p. 544.

² *BNJ*, vii, p. 43.

³ *BNJ*, vii, p. 85, wrongly attributed to Masibda.

⁴ Lockett Sale Catalogue, lot 1128.

this is particularly so in the case of the rare coins of Type 2 on which the inner circle on the obverse is omitted. In fact, as mentioned later, there are good grounds for thinking that Type 7 may well have immediately followed Type 2¹.

It is certain from the composition of the Awbridge find, in which 31 coins of Type 7 were associated with 104 coins of Henry II's first issue, that Type 7 must be the last of the reign and incidentally it is the only type on which the King's portrait is bearded. It is quite possible that Type 2 continued to be struck right up to the time of the Treaty of Winchester² in 1153 when it was superseded by Type 7. The only firm evidence we have for dating Type 2 is that the mints were all in the eastern half of the country or, at any rate, that part held by the Royalists. The coins must therefore have been issued during the period of the Civil War and, if it is assumed that Type 2 was introduced in 1141, it must have come to an end by 1153. Twelve years seems a long time for a type to run, even during a period of anarchy, but it is hardly possible that Type 7 can have been introduced before the peace treaty. It was struck at mints all over the country including those previously in Angevin hands and is clearly indicative of a settled state of affairs and a stable currency. However, there may well have been some overlap between the two types.

An important link between Types 2 and 7 is provided by a very remarkable transitional coin in the British Museum (*BMC* 185), possibly of the Castle Rising mint, which is from the same obverse die as an equally remarkable coin of the Ipswich mint in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow. Both coins are from perfectly normal Type 7 reverse dies but the portrait on the obverse, which is otherwise a normal Type 2 die of the late variety omitting the partial inner circle, is bearded as on Type 7³.

The following are the recorded mints and moneyers for Type 2. The fullest reading is given in each case but readings vary with different dies.

53. BEDFORD

+ TOMAS:ON:BED:

54. BURY ST. EDMUNDS

(a) + ACE:ON:S:EDMYND

(b) + HVNFREI:ON:S:ED:

55. CANTERBURY

* (a) + EDPARD:ON:CAN:

(b) + ROGIER:ON:CANTO:

(c) + ROGIER:BO:ONCANT

56. CASTLE RISING⁴

* + RODBERT:ON:RIS

57. COLCHESTER

* + RANDVLF:ON:CO

57y. DOVER⁵

+ ADAM:ON:DOVRE:?

58. HASTINGS

* (a) + ALDRED:ON:HAS or HAES:

(b) + RODBERT:ON:HAS

¹ See also F. Elmore Jones in *BNJ*, xxv, p. 230.

² Winchester, not Wallingford as sometimes stated. See footnote to p. 89.

³ F. Elmore Jones, *BNJ*, 1958, p. 544 and pl. xxi nos 1 and 2 and nos T1 and T2, plate II of

this paper.

⁴ *BNJ*, xx, p. 117.

⁵ Unpublished coin in Vienna Museum. See *BNJ*, xxviii p. 543.

59. IPSWICH

- * (a) + AEDGAR:ON:GIFE:
- (b) + EDMUND:ON:GIP
- (c) + GERMAN:ON:GIP:
- (d) + GILBERT:ON:GIP:
- (e) + OSBERN:ON:GIP

60. LEWES

- (a) + ELMAR:ON:LEPE:
- (b) + OSEBERN:ON:LEV:

61. LONDON

- (a) + EDWARD:ON:LVN
- (b) + GEFREI:ON:LVN
- (c) + GODARD:ON:L
- * (d) + HAMUND:ON:LVN
- (e) + ROBERT:ON:LVN
- * (f) + THIERRI:ON:LVN

62. NORWICH

- (a) + ETSTAN:ON:NOR:
- * (b) + HERMER:ON:NOR:
- (c) + RAVL:ON:NORPIC:
- (d) + STANCHIL:ON:NOR
- (e) + PALTIER or WALTIER:ON:NON:

63. PEVENSEY

- * + ALPINE:ON:PEVEN:

64. RYE¹

- + RAVLF:ON:RIE:

65. SANDWICH

- * + PVLFRIC:ON:SAN

66. THETFORD

- (a) + BALDEFIN:ON:TEF:
- (b) + HACVN:ON:TEF:

TYPES 3, 4 AND 5 (c.1143 to 1152).

The following three types classified by Brooke as types 3, 4 and 5 were probably issued sometime between 1143 and 1152. So few coins of these types are known that it is always possible they do not represent regular issues at all, or again that may have all been issued simultaneously. But the lettering, which is small in the first two and a mixture of large and small in the other, is on the whole good and it seems likely they represent local issues confined to the east midlands. This is to some extent borne out by the mints that can be identified with any degree of certainty which are Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester and Northampton.

No mules are known and except for a coin of type 3 from the Winterslow find and a cut-halfpenny of the same type from the London Bridge find none are recorded as being in any known finds.

¹ *BNJ*, xx, p. 117.

TYPE 3.

Obverse. Bust of King Stephen facing, crowned and diademed. The inscription which reads, SIEFNE, STIEFNE:R, is placed around divided by two beaded circles.

Reverse. Cross pattée, annulet in centre, in each angle a fleur-de-lys springing from inner circle. The name of moneyer and mint is placed around, divided by two beaded circles.

Average weight about 18.5 grains.

The lettering is small and similar to Type 2.

MINTS (2).

Northampton. Uncertain.

NORTHAMPTON MINT

67. O. + STIEFNE:R

R. + PAEN:ON:NORh:

* (a) ex Roth I 156.

18.5 g.

(b) Mack.

18.2 g.

a and b are from the same pair of dies.

68. O. + STIEFNE:R

R. + PILLEM:ON:NOER

* BMC 177 ex B. C. Roberts

From the Winterslow find

18.3 g.

69. O. + STIEFNE:

R. + PILLEM:ON:NOR

* BMC 176 ex Banks presentation

18.6 g.

Nos 68 and 69 above are, in the *BMC*, attributed to Norwich, but Northampton, as an undoubted Type 3 mint is perhaps more likely.

UNCERTAIN MINT

70. O.]IEFNE[

R.]ER:ON:h[

* Ballingal ex Lockett 3940, Carlyon-Britton 1483,

Rashleigh 612, cut half-penny

From the London Bridge find c. 1850

9.7 g.

Possibly Huntingdon mint (see No. 112).

UNCERTAIN MINT

71. Obv. and Rev. readings blundered and unintelligible.

* Ballingal ex Lockett 1132, Dawnay 35, Rostron 40, Murchison 33, Cuff 759.

This coin has been attributed to Launceston¹.

TYPE 4.

Obverse. Bust of King Stephen facing, crowned and diademed. The inscription which reads STEINER:OR STIEFNE or STIEFNE:R is placed around, divided by two beaded circles.

Reverse. Lozenge with concave sides, a fleur at each angle, in centre a star of six points, in field an annulet at each side of lozenge. The name of moneyer and mint is placed around, divided by two beaded circles.

Average weight about 18.0 grains.

The lettering is small and similar in style to Types 2 and 3.

¹ In Lockett sale 1955 lot 1132, and *BNJ*, vol. iii, p. 113.

MINTS (2).

Lincoln. Nottingham.

LINCOLN MINT

72. O. + STIEFNE:R

R. + PAEN:ON:LINCO

* ex Mossop, Lockett 1133, Reynolds 59a

17.5 g.

73. O. + STIEFNE

R. [+ G]ODPNE:ON:LINC

* Hill ex Ryan 914, Roth I 128, Murdoch 257, Montagu II 350, Webb 39, Neck, Wigan

18.8 g.

74. O. + STIEFNIFIHI (the s reversed)

R. + DIHOED[]:LINC (the N reversed)

* Hill ex Grantley 1299

16.0 g.

The moneyer's name is partly retrograde and unintelligible.

NOTTINGHAM MINT

75. O. + STE[]ER:

R.]O:ONSNOTI[

* BMC 178 ex Cuff 761

15.3 g.

TYPE 5.

Obverse. Bust of King Stephen three-quarters to the right, holding sceptre. The inscription which reads STIEPENER is placed around divided by two beaded circles.

Reverse. Lozenge with concave sides, a pellet at each angle and in the centre, within it, four small crescents across the four angles, all within a tressure of eight arcs from which spring four fleur-de-lis. The name of moneyer and mint is placed around between two beaded circles.

Average weight about 16.0 grains.

Some of the lettering is small and similar to Types 2, 3 and 4 but other lettering is of the larger type characteristic of the two following types.

MINTS (1)

Leicester.

LEICESTER MINT

76. O. + STIEPENER

R. + SIMVN:ON:LERE

* (a) BMC 179 ex Hazlitt 1050

16.2 g.

(b) B.M. ex Lawrence

15.7 g.

* (c) ex Lockett 1134, Roth I 120.

* (d) Ballingal ex Ryan 915, Drabble 707, Ready 251

16.0 g.

Probably all from the same obv. die and two reverse dies.

TYPE 6 (c.1153).

Obverse. Bust of King Stephen to the left, crowned, holding sceptre in front of head. The inscription which reads STIEFNE is placed around; all in a beaded outer circle. There is no inner circle.

Reverse. Cross fleury, small saltire in centre, in each angle a pile surmounted by a trefoil of annulets. The name of moneyer and mint is placed around between two beaded circles.

Average weight about 20.5 grains.

MINTS (8).

BEDFORD	LEWES
CANTERBURY	LONDON
CASTLE RISING	NORWICH
HASTINGS	(?)SUDBURY

If Type 2 continued to be struck until as late in the reign as 1153, then to be superseded by Type 7, a theory for which there seems to be good evidence, then Type 6 must have been issued concurrently with Type 2. The type is very rare, only about 26 coins being recorded so that its duration was probably very short. So far as is known no coin of Type 6 has an English hoard provenance. Eight mints are represented, all in the eastern half of the country, so presumably the coins were issued before the Treaty of Winchester and therefore almost certainly before Type 7 made its appearance although there is always the possibility of an overlap. On the whole the dies seem to be well engraved; they would appear to have come from a central distribution centre and London is included in the list of mints. Although it seems definite that this is a substantive type, not a local variant, some of the coins have the appearance of being debased and a coin of the London mint in the British Museum is silver plated on copper. The lettering is generally larger than that of Type 2 and conforms more to the lettering of Type 7, possibly denoting a late date of issue but epigraphy is known to be misleading in this reign.

The conclusion must be that Type 6 is earlier than Type 7 and that it was struck fairly late in the reign. That it immediately preceded Type 7 is proved by the mule Type 6/7 of Hastings mint (No. 99y) which has recently come to light in Moscow but there is every likelihood of its having run concurrently with Type 2 towards the end of the run of the latter.

The following coins have been recorded.

BEDFORD MINT

77. O. + STIEFNE
R. + TOMAS:ON:BED
* ex Lockett 2961, Drabble 708.
78. O. + STIEFNE
R. +]ON:BED
* ex Parsons 254.

The moneyer's name is possibly *TOHAN*, but the reading is not certain.

CANTERBURY MINT

79. O. + STI[EFN]E
R. + RODBERT:ON:CA
* Mack ex Lockett 1135, Carlyon-Britton 1481 20.1 g.
80. O. + STIEFNE
R. + ROGIER:ON:CAN
Ballingal ex Ryan 916.

CASTLE RISING MINT¹

81. O. + STIEFNE
R. + RODBRET:ON:RIS
* (a) BMC 180 ex Montagu II 305, Holmes 3. 20.2 g.
(b) Coats Collection, Glasgow. 20.3 g.

¹ *BNJ*, xx, p. 117.

82. O. + STIEFNE
 R. + RODBERT:ON:RIS
 * (a) Copenhagen Museum.
 (b) ex Montagu V 108, Toplis. From the Nottingham find.
 (c) Elmore Jones ex Drabble 709, Braun 232. (Cracked and plugged).
 83. O. + STI[EFNE]
 R. +]:ON:RIS
 * ex Lockett 2962, Wheeler 188, Carlyon-Britton 1969.

HASTINGS MINT

84. O. + STIEFNE
 R. + ALDRED:ON[:h]AS
 * King, ex Lockett 1136, Spink, O'Hagan 422, Webb 67. 16.9 g.

LEWES MINT

85. O. +]IEFNRE:
 R. + hvN[FREI:O]N:LEV
 ex Wills 403, Reynolds 60.

LONDON MINT

86. O. + STIEFNE
 R. + RAVLF:ON:I[
 B.M. ex Mabbott. Silver plated on copper. 18.1 g.
 87. O. + STIEFNE
 R. [+ F]VLEFINE:ON:LV[
 Mack, ex Lawrence 362. 18.3 g.
 88. O. + [STIEFNE]
 R. + R[]ON:LVN
 ex Parsons 255.

NORWICH MINT

89. O. + STIEFNE
 R. + HILDBRAN:ON:NO
 * ex Ryan 917. Found at Navestock Churchyard, Essex.
 90. O. + STIEFNE
 R. + PILLEMI:ON:NOR
 Leeds University ex Winchester Cathedral Library.
 91. O. + STIEFNE
 R. + THOR:ON:NOR
 ex Roth II 138.
 92. O. + STIEFNE
 R. + STENCI[]ON:NO
 Coats collection, Glasgow. 21.0 g.

SUDBURY MINT

93. O. + STIEFNE
 R. + AL[]N:SVB
 * Copenhagen Museum.

UNCERTAIN MINTS

94. O. + STIEFN[E]
 R. + RODBERT:ON[]N
 * ex Lockett 3941, Rashleigh 619, Cuff 762. 21.7 g.
 Probably either Canterbury or London mint.

95. O. + [STIEFNE]
R. + AELFINE:[
Blunt, ex Shirley-Fox.
96. O. + STIEF[NE]
R.]FRI[
Ballingal, ex Lockett 1137.
97. O. + STIEFNE
R. Uncertain reading.
ex Taffs 138
98. O. + [STIEFNE]
R.]RODBERT[
Ballingal ex Marshall 79, Grantley 1327, Reynolds 61.
The dies differ from the RODBERT coins of Canterbury, Castle Rising and London.
99. O. + STIEFNE
R. + HACRONNIENEN (the N's reversed) (a very uncertain reading).
* ex Lockett 3942, Drabble 994.

MULE TYPE 6/7.

HASTINGS MINT

- 99y. O. + STIEFNE A Type 6 die.
R. [+RO]DBERT:ONHAS (the h of unusual form). A Type 7 die.
* Moscow Museum of Fine Arts

21.4 g.

Only two specimens from the same reverse die of this mint and moneyer are known in Type 7 and this is from a different reverse die¹. The mint is known in Type 6 from only one specimen but different moneyer².

TYPE 7 (c.1153 TO c.1158).

Obverse. Crowned bust of the King three-quarters to the left, bearded and holding a sceptre in his right hand. The inscription which reads STIEFNE is placed around, the whole enclosed by a beaded outer circle. There is no inner circle.

Reverse. Cross voided within beaded quatrefoil; in centre an annulet, in each angle a fleur-de-lis springing from the quatrefoil; a pellet in each angle of the quatrefoil. The name of the moneyer and mint is placed around between two beaded circles.

The lettering is larger than that of the preceding types.

Average weight 21 to 23 grains.

The composition of the Awbridge find of 1902, which must have been buried at least eight years after Stephen's death, makes it quite certain that Type 7 is the last type of the reign. Of the approx. 180 coins originally comprised in the hoard the composition of the 138 specimens which were examined and classified was 31 pennies of Stephen Type 7, 3 pennies of the irregular coins of Stephen Type 1 by the moneyer SANSON of (?) Canterbury, which are discussed elsewhere in this paper, and 104 pennies of Henry II's first issue struck between 1158 and 1165³.

The mints of Type 7 are evidence of the more settled conditions prevailing throughout the country immediately following the Treaty of Winchester in 1153 and include towns in the West Country such as Gloucester and Hereford which were previously Angevin strongholds.

¹ H. H. King, 'Coins of the Sussex mints', *BNJ*, xxviii, p. 260, no. 196 and no. 109 below.

² *Ibid.*

³ *BMC*, pp. lvii and lxxiv.

This is the only type on which the King is depicted wearing a beard and there is no inner circle on the obverse. It is very possible that Type 7 immediately followed Type 2 and that Type 6 was issued concurrently with Type 2 for a short period towards the end of the run of the latter. On the evidence of the Pipe Rolls it is known that Type 7 continued to be issued throughout the first four years of Henry II's reign.

The dies of the regular coins of the type are well engraved and the inscriptions are free from blundering. Very occasionally the initial letter of the moneyer's surname appears, punctuated with a colon.

Some coins of the type are known which are obviously struck from irregular dies, often of tolerably good workmanship but with meaningless reverse inscriptions. They are generally of base metal and light weight and must be contemporary forgeries (See Plate II No. 135a)¹.

The following are the recorded mints² and moneyers for Type 7. The fullest reading is given in each case but readings vary with different dies.

99z. BATH³

+ []VR[]:BATH

Bath is unrecorded in any type later than c. 1130 in preceding reign.

Moneyer could be either AL]VR[ED or AL]VR[IC

100. BEDFORD

(a) + DAV[ID]:ON:BEDE

* (b) + TOMAS:ON:BEDE

101. BRAMBER?⁴

(a) + ORGAR:ON:BRAN

(b) + PILLEM:ON:BRAN

(c) + RODBERT:ON:BRAN

102. BURY ST. EDMUNDS

(a) + PILLEM[:ON:SC]:ED

(b) + ACL:ON:SEDMV:⁵

103. CANTERBURY

(a) + EDPARD:ON:CAN:

(b) + RODBERT:ON:CAN

(c) + ROGIER:ON:CANTER

104. CASTLE RISING⁶

+ HIVN OF IVN:ON:RISINGES

105. COLCHESTER

+ GOD[]ON:COLN

106. DOVER

+ ADAM:ON:DOVRE

107. EXETER

+ AILRIC:ON:EXECS

¹Type 7 is fully discussed by Mr. Elmore Jones in *BNJ*, xxviii, 1958, pp. 537ff.

²*BNJ*, xxviii, pp. 548-551.

³Moscow Museum of Fine Arts.

⁴*BNJ*, xxv, pp. 119ff.

⁵*Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Sept. 1906.

⁶*BNJ*, xx, pp. 117ff.

108. GLOUCESTER
 (a) + RALF:ON:GLOYCE
 (b) + PILLEM:ON:GLOECE
109. HASTINGS
 + ROBBERT:ON:HAS
110. HEDON (E. Yorks.)¹
 + GERARD:ON:hEDVN
111. HEREFORD
 * + DRIV:ON:HEREFOR:
112. HUNTINGDON
 (a) + GODMER:ON:hVN:
 * (b) + WALTIER:ON:hVN:
113. ILCHESTER
 + []:ON:IV[
114. IPSWICH
 (a) + A[]RI:ON:GIPES
 (b) + DAVI[D]:ON:GIPE:
115. LEWES
 * + hVNFREI:ON:LEVE:
116. LINCOLN
 * (a) HVE:ON:LINCO
 (b) + G (or O)[]:ON:LINCO
 (c) + PAEN:ON:LINCO
117. LONDON
 (a) + ADAM:ON:LV
 (b) + ALISANDRE:ON:LV
 (c) + DEREMAN:ON:LV
 (d) + GEFREI:ON:LVND
 (e) + RAVLF ON:LVN
 (f) + RICARD:ON:LVNDE
 (g) + ROBBERT ON:LVND:
 (h) + TERRI.D.[
 (j) + PVLFPIN:ON:LVN
118. NORWICH
 (a) + ALFRICH:ON:NOR or + ALVRIC:ON:NOR
 (b) + DAVI:ON:NORPIC:
 (c) + HILDEBRAN:ON:NOR
 (d) + RAVLF:ON:NORP
 (e) + THOR:ON:NORVI:
 * (f) + PILLEMONNOR
119. NOTTINGHAM
 + SVEIN:ON:NOTINE

¹ BNJ, xxvi, pp. 28 ff.

120. PEVENSEY

- * (a) + ALPINE:ON:PIEF:
 (b) + FELIPE:ON:P[EV]EN

121. RYE¹

- + RAYLE:ON:RIEE:

122. SALISBURY

- * (a) + STANYNG:ON:SAL
 (b) + VINMAN:ON:SAL

123. SANDWICH

- (a) + OSBERN:ON:SANPI
 (b) + PYLFRIC:ON:SAN

124. SUDBURY

- (a) + EDPARD:ON:SVB:
 (b) + GILBERT:ON:SVB

125. TAUNTON?

- + []ANTVN

126. THETFORD

- + GEFREI:ON:TEFFO

127. WARWICK

- + EVERARD:ON:PARPI

128. WATCHET

- * (a) + h[]N:PACHE
 (b) + T[]che

129. WILTON

- (a) + ELLER:ON:PILT
 * (b) + PILLEM:ON:PILTV

130. WINCHESTER

- + hVEG:ON:PINCEST:

131. WORCESTER

- (a) + ADAM:ON:PIRCES
 (b) + ALLEM:ON:PIREC

132. YORK

- * (a) + GEFREI:ON:EVER (132 on plate II)
 (b)]N:ON:EVER

UNCERTAIN MINTS

133. + ALVRED:ON:[]AM (possibly Tamworth)
 134. + []D:ON:CLPEN
 135. []:ON:BYR[
 135b.]AD:ON:[]T[²

¹ BNJ, xxx, p. 188.

² Moscow Museum of Fine Arts.

The first letter of mint signature of 135b could be s in which case either Stafford or Stamford, both of which were Type 1 mints, could be possible. Stafford is perhaps more likely since that mint also struck in the next reign (Henry II 'Tealby' type) whereas Stamford did not.

COINS OF TYPE 1 STRUCK FROM ERASED OBLVERSE DIES.

There is a series of coins of the first type of King Stephen struck from erased obverse dies. The erasure generally takes the form of either a series of criss-cross cuts across the King's face, a long cross extending to the edge of the coin, a small cross placed variously on the King's face or shoulder or even the shaft of the sceptre, or a bar across the shaft of the sceptre, and on one coin of York, which may be a contemporary forgery, two parallel lines from edge to edge. Sometimes a pellet or small cross is added. The erasure is either stamped or cut in the die. That this was done after coins had been struck from the dies in the ordinary manner is proved by coins of the Stamford mint which are known struck from the same obverse die both before and after the erasure was made¹.

These coins vary considerably both in weight and fineness. The majority are of low weight, anything from 14 to 17 grains, and many have the appearance of being of base silver, but on the other hand some are obviously of good silver and weigh up to 21 grains or more.

The reason for this erasure is not quite clear but the generally accepted explanation is that the dies were either erased by a moneyer loyal to the king when the mint he was working at was in danger of falling into the hands of the Angevin party, or else the die was so treated after capture by the king's enemies, who would no doubt wish to use the king's dies without acknowledging his title. In the first instance, should the mint not fall into the hands of the enemy, the moneyer had no alternative but to go on striking coins from the die he had erased, unless he was prepared to cut another one himself, but it is unlikely that he would have much difficulty in passing defaced coins into circulation. If, on the other hand, the mint was captured, there is no reason to suppose that the Angevin party would not strike coins from dies so erased. It is likely that the coins of base metal and light weight were the product of dies in Angevin hands. Most of the wealth of the country was held by the Royalists and the majority of Angevin coins are debased.

It has been suggested² that the armorial badge of certain barons may be seen in the erasing cross and that the large cross extending to the edge of the coin on the Norwich and Thetford coins may signify they were issued under the authority of Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and the smaller cross on the Nottingham coins signify they were issued under the authority of William Peverel, earl of Nottingham. But it is doubtful whether any baron would risk such an open procedure, even if armorial badges were in common use at this early date, and it is more likely that the crosses were only used as a convenient method of defacing the die.

The following coins have been recorded.

A. *Obverse erased by series of vertical and horizontal cuts.*

BRISTOL MINT

130. R. + GYRDAN:ON:BRIS:

* (a)	B.M. ex Roth I 140, Rashleigh 602,	From the Dartford find	23.2 g.
(b)	B.M. ex Wells		20.2 g.
(c)		From the South Kyme find	21.9 g.
All from the same reverse die and perhaps from the same obverse die as well.			

¹ BMC, p. lxxvii and nos 151 and 152,

² W. J. Andrew in *BNJ*, vii, pp. 59 ff.

These Bristol coins could easily be the first to be struck on behalf of the Empress Matilda. They were almost certainly struck from royal dies with Stephen's portrait and title heavily erased, probably during the winter of 1139-40 and before the Empress issued coins from local dies bearing her own name.

B. Obverse erased by plain cross from edge to edge.

NORWICH MINT

137. O. + STIEFNE R

R. + ALFFARD:ON:NOR

* (a) ex Wheeler 185, Carlyon-Britton 1973, Douglas.

From the Nottingham find.

* (b) ex Bruun 230, Roth II 153.

From the Nottingham find

16.0 g.

a and b are from the same pair of dies.

138. O. + STIEFNE R

R. + []DA[]N:NOR:

(a) Nottingham

From the Nottingham find (broken)

14.9 g.

* (b) Ballingal ex Lockett 2970

The moneyer's name is possibly ADAM

139. O. + STIEFNE R

R. + EDSTAN:ON:NOR

(a) ex Reynolds¹

From the Nottingham find

17.5 g.

(b) B.M. ex Lawrence

From the South Kyme find

19.0 g.

(c) Nottingham ex Burton

From the Nottingham find (fragment)

8.3 g.

(d) ex Spink & Son²

The reading of c and d is not certain

140. O. + STIEFNE R

R. + OTERE:ON:NOR[

ex Carlyon-Britton, Hilton-Price

141. O. + STIEFNE:

R. + WALTIER:ON:NO OF + WALTER:ON:NOR:

* (a) BMC 229, ex Montagu II 333, Marsham 261

21.1 g.

* (b) ex Ryan 919, Carlyon-Britton 1489

(c) ex Roth I 141.

(d) Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

17.4 g.

(e) Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

15.3 g.

(f) Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

19.2 g.

d and f are from the same reverse die. a and b are from the same pair of dies.

THETFORD MINT

142. O. + STIEFNE

R. + BALDEWI:ON:TETE, TEF OF T

(a) BMC 230, ex Parkes Weber

(Cracked)

15.7 g.

* (b) ex Drabble 721, Brown, Roth II 154

15.5 g.

(c) Oxford ex Marshall 82, Grantley 1302, Lawrence, Andrew, Canon Pownall.

(Cracked)

15.8 g.

(d) Norwich Castle Museum, ex Lockett 1167, Burstal

a and b are from the same reverse die.

UNCERTAIN MINT

143. O. + STIEFNE

R. + ROBERT:ON:[

* Chatsworth

From the Sheldon find

15.5 g.

¹ BMC, p. lxxvi but not in sale.

² Spink's Numismatic Circular, 1927, no. 64816, probably this.

144. *O.* illegible*R.*]:ON[

Stewart ex Lawrence 367 Fragment.

C. Obverse erased by plain cross from edge to edge and additional small crosses in second and fourth angles.

NORWICH MINT

145. *O.* + STIEFNE*R.* [+AL]FPARD:ON[:NOR]

* Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

17.4 g.

146. *O.* + STIEFNE*R.* + OT[]A:O[N:NOR]P

Nottingham

From the Nottingham find. (Chipped) 15.3 g.

From the same obverse die (with erasure), as preceding coin.

147. *O.* + STIEFNE*R.* [+ E]VSTACE:ON:N[

ex Wheeler 184, Reynolds 71.

From the Nottingham find. (Cracked) 15.0 g.

Eustace coined at Norwich in Type 1.

D. Obverse erased by small cross over the shaft of sceptre.

NOTTINGHAM MINT

148. *O.* + STIE[:]EX (the s reversed)*R.* + []:ON:SNOT:

* Chatsworth

From the Sheldon Find

14.0 g.

E. Obverse erased by small cross on King's face. A pellet is sometimes added and the cross varies in form and position.

NOTTINGHAM MINT

149. *O.* + STIEFNE:R*R.* + SPEIN:ON:SNOT:

(a) BMC 229a, ex Pierpont Morgan, Evans	From the Nottingham find	16.6 g.
(b) B.M. ex Lawrence (Fragment)		10.8 g.
(c) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find	15.0 g.
(d) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find	15.0 g.
* (e) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find	15.5 g.
* (f) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find	16.0 g.
(g) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find	16.0 g.
(h) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find	16.5 g.
(j) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find	16.5 g.
(k) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find	17.0 g.
(l) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find. Cut halfpenny	8.0 g.
(m) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find. Cut halfpenny	7.7 g.
(n) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find. Cut halfpenny	8.2 g.
* (o) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find	14.5 g.
(p) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find	16.5 g.
(q) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find. (very slight chip)	16.3 g.
(r) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find. (slight chip)	16.2 g.
(s) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find	15.6 g.
(t) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find	16.3 g.
(u) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find	15.6 g.
(v) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find	15.6 g.
(w) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find	15.3 g.

(x) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find	14.7 g.
	(very slight chip)	
(y) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find	14.5 g.
	(very slight chip)	
(z) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find (chip)	14.5 g.
(aa) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find (chip)	13.9 g.
(bb) Mack ex Ryan 920, Carlyon-Britton 1490		14.6 g.
(cc) Ballingal ex Lockett 1166, Roth II 156, Toplis	From the Nottingham find	14.5 g.
(dd) Oxford, ex Marshall 81, Grantley 1301, Lawrence, Canon Pownall.		
	From the Nottingham find	15.7 g.
* (ee) ex Drabble 720, Bruun 231		
(ff) ex Roth II 155, Montagu 334, Toplis	From the Nottingham find	15.5 g.
(gg) ex Roth I 142, Toplis	From the Nottingham find	16.1 g.
(hh) Nottingham, ex Burton	From the Nottingham find	17.0 g.
(ii) Nottingham, ex Burton	From the Nottingham find (slight chip)	16.4 g.
(kk) Nottingham, ex Burton	From the Nottingham find	15.9 g.
(ll) Nottingham, ex Burton	From the Nottingham find	16.8 g.
(mm) Nottingham, ex Burton	From the Nottingham find. Cut halfpenny	7.0 g.
(nn) ex Roth I 136	Cut halfpenny	
* (oo) ex Lockett 2968, Sheriff Mackenzie		
(pp) Ballingal ex Lockett 2969	Cut halfpenny	
* (qq) Ballingal ex Lockett 3953, Roth I 135, Wills		

v to *m* are from the same obverse dies but from three different reverse dies.

p to *s*, *cc*, *ff* and *kk* have no pellet in cross.

p to *s* and *ff* are from the same dies.

t to *bb*, *gg* to *kk* and *mm* are from the same dies.

qq has crude bust with uncertain readings.

On some of the coins from the Sheldon find the King's name and title are more or less hammered out similar to coins of Nottingham No. 157 below.

It is very likely that all these coins came originally from the Sheldon and Nottingham finds.

F. Coins with the sceptre erased with cross bar.

LINCOLN MINT

150. O. + STIEFN

R. + GLADFINE:ON:LIN

* (a) B.M. ex Lockett 1152, Burstal 123, Toplis	From the Nottingham find	18.8 g.
(b) Hill		15.8 g.
(c) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find	19.5 g.

These coins are all from the same pair of dies. There is an annulet on the King's shoulder. On *b* the cross bar across sceptre is not visible and it is possible the coin was struck before the die was erased.

STAMFORD MINT

151. O. + STIEFNE:R (the s sideways)

R. + LEFSI:ON:STAN:

* (a) ex Roth II 143, Rashleigh 005	From the Dartford find	14.8 g.
(b) ex Wells	From the Nottingham find (fragment)	13.8 g.
* (c) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find	15.5 g.
(d) Nottingham	From the Nottingham find	16.2 g.

These coins have a small cross on the King's shoulder in addition to the bar through the shaft of the sceptre. Also a pellet on each limb of the reverse cross.

a, c and d are from the same reverse die.

a and *c* are from the same obverse die.

152. *O.* + STIEFNE:R (the s sideways)

R. + LEFNI:ON:STAN:

* (a) ex Drabble 716, Wells

From the Nottingham find

17.7 g.

* (b) Ballingal, ex Lockett 1114, Day

These two coins, from the same dies, were struck from the same dies as No. 151(a) above before the erasure of the obverse die took place¹.

Another coin is known, also ex Wells' collection, struck from the same obverse die and the reverse die of ordinary type (15.2 g.)².

UNCERTAIN MINT

153. *O.* + STIEFNE

R. + EDPARD:ON[

* B.M. ex Lockett 1153, Drabble 718, Ready 250

G. Erasure cross on King's shoulder and ornamented sceptre shaft.

UNCERTAIN MINT

154. *O.* + STIEFNE RE

R. + []BE[]ANE

* BMC 231, ex Montagu II 335, Toplis

From the Nottingham find

20.6 g.

The shaft of the sceptre is ornamented with two fleur-de-lys set end to end.

H. Obverse erased by arc of circle through King's chin and vertical line downwards.

HASTINGS MINT

155. *O.* + ST[IE]FNE

R. + SAPINE:ON[:h]ASTI:

From the Nottingham find. (Broken and repaired)

18.6 g.

J. Obverse erased by two parallel lines across the coin.

YORK MINT

156. *O.* Uncertain

R. + MARTIN:ON:EVE

* ex Lockett 1165, Roth II 146. (Broken and held in rim)

The bust faces to the left and there is no sceptre. The coin is struck from dies of very rough workmanship. Brooke suggests³ the coin was struck from forger's dies which had been obliterated by the two lines cut on the obverse.

¹ *BNJ*, iv, p. 361-62, xv, p. 306.

² *BNJ*, vii, p. 55. *BMC*, p. lxxvii.

³ *BMC*, p. lxxxii.

K. Coins of Type 1 of coarse work with obverse legend either partly or entirely obliterated by hammer marks¹.

Obv. and rev. similar to Type 1.

NOTTINGHAM MINT

157. O. + STIEPNE:R

R. + SPEIN:ON:SNOT:

* (a) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find	15.7 g.
(b) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find	16.0 g.
(c) Chatsworth	From the Sheldon find	17.0 g.
* (d) ex Rashleigh 610	From the Dartford find	22.2 g.
* (e) Mack ex Lockett 3925		20.4 g.

Similar coins exist from same dies with varying degrees of erasure.

It is known that William Peverel, earl of Nottingham, held Nottingham for the Empress in 1138² and it is probable that he had deserted the King some time shortly before this date. These coins were most likely struck from the Royal mint at Nottingham before Peverel deserted the Royal cause for the Empress, but the dies from which they were struck must have been made locally and not with regular punching irons as the coins are of much coarser work than the normal and certainly earlier coins of Type 1.

The reason the King's name is wholly or partly hammered out could be that Peverel, after his revolt against the King, seized the mint and with it the stock of coined money³, but not wishing to put it into circulation bearing the King's name and title had the obverse legend stamped or hammered out before the coins left the mint.

Peverel eventually rejoined the Royalist party, probably in 1139 and fought for Stephen at the battle of Lincoln in February 1141, being captured and forced to surrender Nottingham Castle as the price of his personal safety⁴. He was, however, still kept a prisoner, being released in November 1141 after earl Robert's capture when a general exchange of prisoners took place. He is last heard of in the next reign when he fled as Henry approached Nottingham and spent the rest of his life in a monastery.

There were other coins of this variety in the Sheldon find without the hammer marks.

THE IRREGULAR COINAGE OF STEPHEN (c.1135-1141).

The following varieties of Type 1 were issued in the name of the King, probably up to the end of 1141. Many of these coins were almost certainly issued by Barons and Bishops throughout the country, but it is impossible to say who they were, and some may just be contemporary forgeries.

William of Newburgh⁵ tells us that the Barons one and all coined their own money but this is unlikely to be correct. Mention is also made in the introduction of Hoveden's chronicle of the 'Duke's money' supposed to have been issued by Henry of Anjou in 1149. On Henry's arrival in 1149 he is said to have called in all the money coined by the Barons.

Some of the coins are well struck and the dies made with regular punching tools but other dies are roughly made and the coins so poorly struck and in such inferior metal that it is very difficult to decipher some of the legends. But at the same time it must be borne in mind that some legends were intentionally blundered or made unreadable to disguise the source of origin of the coins.

¹ *BNJ*, vii, p. 66.

² *BMC*, p. lxxx.

³ *BNJ*, vii, p. 67.

⁴ Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, vol. ii, p. 105.

⁵ *William of Newburgh*, Rolls series, no. 82, vol. i, p. 69; sub anno 1149.

The varieties of Type 1 are arranged according to the areas in which they were minted with the exception of the coinage of York which is dealt with separately.

SOUTH-EASTERN AREA.

Obverse. Similar to Type 1 but the sceptre terminates in an annulet from which issue seven rays or spikes. The annulet has a pellet in the centre.

Reverse. Similar to Type 1.

CANTERBURY MINT

158. O. + STIEFN

R. + RODBERT:ON:CA

* BMC 235, ex Willett 35, Hollis 178

20.1 g.

A similar coin reading OSVLF ON LVNDE was in the Marsham sale of 1888, lot 269. This and the succeeding lot were reputed to have been found at Catal in Yorkshire and were purchased by Mr. Richardson as doubtful coins for presentation to the SSA Museum¹ where they now are. They are both modern forgeries from the same dies as the forgeries illustrated by Lawrence in *BNJ* iii, plate iii, Nos. 64 and 67².

It has been suggested that the object in front of the King's head is a horseman's mace and it certainly has this appearance³. It is not known when maces were first in use. A mace is depicted in the Bayeux tapestry made some 60 years earlier but this is a foot soldier's mace as opposed to a horseman's mace⁴. Another and rather improbable suggestion is that the object represents the Host elevated on a monstrance⁵.

The c in the mint name is rounded which is an unusual feature for this period.

COINS WITH ROUNDELS PLACED IN VARYING POSITIONS ON REVERSE CROSS.

Obverse and reverse similar to Type 1.

A. Roundels at opposite ends of one limb of cross.

IPSWICH MINT

159. O. + STEFNE:REX

R. + OSERERN:ON:GIP

* (a) Ballingal, ex Lockett 1151, Carlyon-Britton 1484, Murdoch 249, Allen 380

* (b) ex Grantley 1309, Drabble 736, Wheeler 198, Reynolds 69. (Broken and repaired)

a and b from the same pair of dies.

160. O. + STEFNE:RE

R. + ROGER:ON[:GI]PE[]PI:

Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

15.1 g.

UNCERTAIN MINT

161. O.]ANE

R. + s[]FRA: (the R reversed)

* Ballingal, ex Ryan 923, Roth II 162, Montagu II 331, Toplis

From the Nottingham find

15.1 g.

¹ Now the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

² See also *N.C.* 1899, pp. 241-250.

³ *BMC*, p. lxxxix.

⁴ Mann in Sir F. Stenton's edition of the *Bayeux Tapestry*, p. 66.

⁵ W. J. Andrew in Stephen M/s. in B.M.

B. Roundels at the end of first and second arms of cross.

SUDBURY MINT

162. *O.* + STIEFNE:R

R. + EDWARD:ON:SVB:

* (a) Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

14.9 g.

(b)

From the South Kyme find

17.5 g.

C. Roundels at opposite ends of one limb of cross and additional roundel in centre.

IPSWICH MINT

163. *O.* + ST[IEFNE R]

R. + RODGIER:ON:GIPES:

* ex Lockett 3949, Carlyon-Britton

164. *O.* + STIEFNE R

R. + EDMUND:ON:GIP:

Quoted by W. J. Andrew but whereabouts unknown¹.

165. *O.* [+ ST]EFNE:REX

R. [+ OS]EB[ER]N:ON[:GIP]

Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

17.9 g.

Moneyer OSEBERN. From the same obverse die as No. 159 above, also from the same reverse die with additional roundel in centre.

D. Single roundel in centre of cross.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS MINT

166. *O.* + STIEFNE

R. + GILEBERT:ON:SA[

* Nottingham.

From the Nottingham find

15.9 g.

E. Roundels at opposite ends of one limb of cross and additional small roundel in third quarter².

IPSWICH MINT

167. *O.* ÷ STIEFNE

R. ÷ PAGANYS:ONGIP

* Ballingal

20.0 g.

168. *O.* + STIEF[NE]

R.]ONGI[

* ex Lockett 3950, Roth I 136. Cut halfpenny.

Only one large roundel is visible on this cut halfpenny, but it is probable there would be another on the full coin.

The badge of the house of Boulogne was three bezants³ and it is possible these roundels might be intended to represent bezants. Queen Matilda was the only child of the earl of Boulogne and therefore his sole heiress. It is possible that she placed this mark on the coins of Stephen during his captivity in 1141 when she was intent on raising money and arms for

¹ W. J. Andrew in Stephen M/S in *B.M.*

³ *BNJ*, vii, p. 76.

² *BNJ*, xxxii, p. 220.

her husband's cause. Some force is lent to this theory by the fact that all the known coins bearing this mark come from East Anglian mints, a part of the country known to favour Stephen.

EASTERN AREA.

A. *Obverse*. Similar to Type 1 but of very coarse work.

Reverse. A broad cross with a pellet at the end of each limb, in each angle a fleur-de-lis and pellet.

LINCOLN MINT

169. O. + STEPH[ANVSRE]X

R. AILR[ICVS] + ONLIN

* (a) Hill ex Ryan 927, Roth II 124. From the Dartford find 22.5 g.

* (b) BMC 247, ex Montagu II 345, Marsham 264 22.1 g.

a and b are from the same pair of dies.

170. O. [+ ST]EPHAN[VS]R[EX]

R. GLADEVIN[

* Chatsworth From the Sheldon find 22.0 g.

171. O. [+ STEP]HANVS-REX

R.]VS + ONIN[

* BMC 248, ex Montagu II 346, Marsham 265 Found at Gravesend, 1817 21.7 g.

172. O. + STEPHA[NVS]REX

R. ·ROGE[]N

* Hill ex Lockett 2966, Reynolds 77, Rashleigh 616 From the Dartford find 21.4 g.

173. O. [+ STEPHANVS]REX

R.] + ONL[

* Hill ex Grantley 1324, Rashleigh 615 From the Dartford find 22.0 g.

All these coins appear to be of good silver and weight. Due to their close resemblance, the mint name Lincoln occurring on one coin and the fact that Gladewin is a known Lincoln moneyer, they may all be attributed to the Lincoln mint. It is possible they may be an ecclesiastical issue struck by the Bishop of Lincoln.

B. *Obverse*. Similar to Type 1 but of coarse work.

Reverse. Similar to Type 1 but a small broad cross superimposed on the cross moline.

THETFORD MINT

174. O. + STIEFNE·R

R. + BALDEWI·ON·T:

* (a) BMC 249, ex Montagu II, 336 Toplis From the Nottingham find 17.2 g.

* (b) Ballingal, ex Lockett 1157, Reynolds 78, Toplis From the Nottingham find 17.0 g.

a and b are from the same pair of dies.

The coins are of base metal. Baldwin was a regular Thetford moneyer.

MIDLAND AREA.

A. *Obverse*. Very crude bust to the right with sceptre in front.

Reverse. Short cross voided with a martlet in each angle.

DERBY MINT

175. O. + STEPHANVS REX

R. + WALCHELINVS DERBI (the N reversed)

- (a) BMC 245, ex Roberts, Tyssen, Hodsoil, Lord Moira. From the Ashby find, 1788 20.9 g.
 (b) Ballingal, ex Ryan 925, Carlyon-Britton 1972, Hilton Price
 * (c) ex Carlyon-Britton 1482, Murdoch 256, Lord Kesteven 18, Montagu II 347, Brice, Lake Price 51, Whitbourn 156 21.3 g.
 (d) ex Grantley 1310, Rashleigh 618, Marsham 267 20.5 g.
 * (e) ex Lockett 1156
 (f) ex Drabble 725, Reynolds 76, Bateman 361, Dymock 187, Barclay 47 22.0 g.
 * (g) ex Roth I 138, Marsham 267, Wigan, Cuff 759, Tyssen 1131
 (h) ex Baldwin Found in London
 (j) Mack ex Ward (Glendining May 18, 1904)? 20.8 g.
 (k) From the Ashby find. Cut half-penny.

The use of the 4 martlets in the angles of the reverse cross, found also in the well-known type of Edward the Confessor (Brooke type 7), cannot readily be explained. All the known coins of this type are from the same pair of dies. They are of good weight and apparently good metal. Three coins and a cut-halfpenny were found in the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, a few miles south of Derby, in 1788 with other coins of Stephen.¹ Another was found in London² at an unspecified date.

Walkelin, the moneyer of Derby, is referred to in contemporary deeds and it is suggested that this type may have been issued by Robert de Ferrers, earl of Derby, during Stephen's captivity in the summer of 1141 when there was considerable chaos all over the country, particularly amongst the King's supporters, the unusual lettering and crude workmanship of the coins being the work of the local seal cutter.³

B. *Obverse*. Similar to Type 1 but with plain crown without any fleurs. There is an annulet on the King's shoulder.

Rev. A short cross voided with a quadrilateral with incurved sides imposed upon it. There is a pellet in the centre and in each angle.

(?) OXFORD MINT

176. O. + STIE[

R. + OSBER[]X:

* BMC 239

From the smaller Watford find. (Chipped) 17.6 g.

As this coin came from the smaller Watford find it must have been struck at the same time as Type 1, but it is difficult to account for the peculiar reverse. The lettering is small and apparently the die was made with ordinary punches but it cannot be a separate type as the Watford, Dartford and Linton finds prove the sequence of the first two types, as well as the Rye mule of types 1/2. Presumably it is a baronial issue of someone and perhaps struck at Oxford in support of the King.

C. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but of coarse work.

Rev. Similar to Type 1 but with long cross fleury superimposed on the cross moline of the reverse and dividing the legend. The type is very similar to no. 178 below but is of coarser work.

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* 1796, p. 843 and 983 and plate opposite p. 841. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1797, p. 37.

² *BNJ*, vi, p. 371.

³ *BNJ*, v, p. 439, and Carlyon-Britton sale catalogue note under lot 1482.

PROBABLY NEWARK MINT

177. O. + ·ST RE ANG

R. CIGDENW ERCA·

* (a) BMC 244, ex Cuff 755

17.3 g.

* (b) ex Drabble 1001, Roth II 136, Montagu II 341, Toplis.

From the Nottingham find

a and b are from the same pair of dies.

D. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1.

Rev. Similar to Type 1 but with long cross fleury superimposed on the cross moline and dividing the legend. Very similar to no. 177 above but of quite different style.

LEICESTER MINT

178. O. + STIEFNE RX

R. + SIMVN ON L[EC]E:

* (a) Ballingal, ex Ryan 924, Roth II 130,

Montagu II 340, Toplis

From the Nottingham find

22.2 g.

* (b) B.M. ex Lockett 1155, Roth I 155, Bruun 228

From the Nottingham find

18.0 g.

(c) Ballingal ex Lockett 3948

Fragment

a and b are from the same pair of dies. Simun is a known Leicester moneyer and coined in Type I and Type 5 at Leicester. The coins are of good style and work, the lettering being made with ordinary punches.

E. *Obv.* Crude head to the right, rather similar to the coins of Walchelinus of Derby, no. 175 above, with sceptre in front.

Rev. Short cross voided, over it a saltire fleury.

UNCERTAIN MINT, POSSIBLY NOTTINGHAM

179. O. STEFRANVS REX

R. + ·RAINALD·ONSTO·

* BMC 246, ex Montagu II 339, Marsham 266

14.9 g.

The last letter in the mint reading may be a v which has led to the suggested possibility of the mint being STUTESBERNIA¹ which is the ancient name for Tutbury, a town about nine miles from Derby.

F. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but of coarse work.

Rev. Cross patonce over large cross pattée.

PROBABLY NOTTINGHAM MINT

180. O. + STPEN[(the s reversed)

R.]ONI ON SNIDI:

* B.M. ex Mabbott, Ryan 926

16.1 g.

MIDLAND AND SOUTH-WESTERN AREA.

Coins with Rosette of Pellets on Obverse

The reason for the rosette of pellets which occurs on the obverse of a number of coins of this period in this area (see also Henry of Anjou type 2), either in place of the sceptre or at the end of the obverse legend, sometimes in place of the King's title, is not clear. Perhaps

¹ BMC, p. xcvi and BNJ, v, p. 440.

there is some significance in the fact that the mint names, where readable, are all in Angevin territory, or in parts of the country which were at one time or another occupied by the Angevin party, e.g. Exeter, Cricklade, Oxford and possibly Wilton.

A. *Obv.* Bust to the right similar to Type 1 but instead of a sceptre there is a rosette of pellets in front of the King's forehead. The legend begins above the crown.

Rev. Cross pattée with three pellets at the end of each limb, in each angle a mullet of six points.

OXFORD MINT

181. O.]STEF[

R. + ADAM:ON:OX:

* Oxford, ex Manning

Found at Horspath, near Oxford

16.0 g.

UNCERTAIN MINT

182. O.]STEF[

R.]VBERT:ON[

* BMC 237, ex B.C. Roberts

From the Winterslow find

16.3 g.

Similar, but with bust to the left.

UNCERTAIN MINT

183. O. + STIEF[

R.]ON:[]v

* Oxford, ex Christchurch College

14.9 g.

It is possible the mint reading is PILTV for Wilton.

B. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1, but a large rosette of pellets at the end of the legend.

Rev. Similar to Type 1.

CRICKLADE MINT

184. O. [+ s]TIEFNE

R. + ANGIE[]N:CRI:

* Nottingham

From the Nottingham find

14.6 g.

UNCERTAIN MINT

185. O.]TIEFN

R. + BRIHTPIN[

* BMC 236, ex Webster

16.6 g.

The style of these two coins is good and the lettering made with ordinary punches.

C. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1, but of coarse work. There is a rosette of pellets at the end of the legend.

Rev. A quadrilateral fleury with incurved sides in place of the cross moline of Type 1 and, superimposed upon it, a large cross fleury which separates the legend.

EXETER MINT

186. O.]NER (retrograde)

R.]ODVINVS OOEX[

* Chateworth

From the Sheldon find

16.0 g.

This coin is not made with ordinary punches. The workmanship is very coarse.

UNCERTAIN MINT

187. O. + STIE[

R.]NR[

* Hunter Collection, Glasgow.

16.0 g.

This coin is also of very coarse work.

D. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1, but of coarse work and inscription followed by a symbol having the appearance of a star with curved rays or estoile.

Rev. Similar to Type 1.

UNCERTAIN MINT

187y. O.]IEFN

R. Illegible. Possibly blundered and meaningless.

* Moscow Museum of Fine Arts

15.4 g.

The symbol following the obverse legend is unrecorded on any other coin of the period.

NORTH-EASTERN AREA.

The obverses of coins struck in this area have much in common with one another. The peculiar formation of the letter R, where it occurs, is common to all and, except for the earl Henry coins in Stephen's name, possibly Bamburgh mint,¹ does not seem to appear on any other coins of this period. The impression is therefore that they were all struck in or around the same neighbourhood. The place of minting of the Durham coins is quite certain and Newcastle, some fifteen miles to the north of Durham, seems to be a likely place from which some of the other coins may have been issued and the mint reading could well stand for this.

A. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but star in front of sceptre.

Rev. Similar to Type 1 but annulets on the points of the fleurs and at the end of each limb of cross.

DURHAM MINT

188. O. + STIFENEI RE (the R with two downward strokes)

R. + FOBYND:ON:DVNLE: (the E rounded)

* (a) BMC 252, ex Montagu II 337, Toplis From the Nottingham find 15.5 g.

* (b) Oxford, ex Lockett 1160, Roth I 119, Toplis From the Nottingham find 15.2 g.

(c) ex Drabble 997, Wheeler 197, Thorburn 123,
Montagu II, 338, Toplis From the Nottingham find. (Broken and mended)

(d) Nottingham From the Nottingham find 17.6 g.

All these coins are from the same obverse die. a, b and possibly d are from the same reverse die.

d is of base silver, possibly silver plated.

It is possible these coins may be an ecclesiastical issue and were struck by authority of the Bishop of Durham.

A coin of the ordinary type 1 of similar style to these coins² reads + FOBYND:ON:DVNI:CM (c reversed, M rounded) (15.2 grains) and another³ in the Nottingham Castle Museum, from the Nottingham find, also of similar style,]ND:ON:DVN[.

¹ No. 288 below.² ex Rashleigh 608.³ BMC, p. c.

B. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1.

Rev. Similar to Type 1, but a long cross voided is superimposed on the cross moline.

PROBABLY NEWCASTLE MINT

189. *O.* + STIFENE RE: (the R with two downward strokes)

R. + AI:LPO:N:OD CAIT (first A inverted, second A unbarred, F inverted, N and D reversed)

* BMC 250, ex Murchison 31 Found at Exeter 19.9 g.

190. *O.* + STIEENE RE: (the R with two downward strokes)

R. + WI:LEL:N:ON:CAST: (the N's reversed, A unbarred)

* BMC 251, ex Rollin and Feuadent 21.5 g.

The obverse of the above two coins is very similar to the so-called Bamburgh Castle coins with cross-crosslet reverse, attributed to earl Henry¹.

191. *O.*]NEEH· (second E rounded, ornament after H)

R.]HAN EEE[(ornament after N, first and third E rounded)

* Ballingal ex Ryan 928, Reynolds 81, Lawrence 21.5 g.

UNCERTAIN MINT

192. *O.* FILEMREX:AN

R. + N· IOLOSINA

* Hunter Collection, Glasgow 19.9 g.

The obverse legend must be a moneyer's concoction, the reverse legend is not certain. There is an annulet to the right of sceptre and behind head.

C. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1.

Rev. Similar to Durham coin above, no. 188, but annulets take the place of the spikes of the fleurs and an annulet occurs at the base of each fleur as well as at the end of each limb of the cross.

POSSIBLY YORK MINT

193. *O.* Illegible

R. + []INDINEDON:EI (the first two N's reversed)

* (a) BMC 253, ex Montagu V 120 18.6 g.

(b) Nottingham (broken in two) From the Nottingham find 17.5 g.

These two coins are from the same reverse die and possibly the same obverse die.

COINS FROM UNCERTAIN AREAS.

A. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but with very large head, turned either to the right or to the left, and of very coarse work.

Rev. Similar to Type 1.

UNCERTAIN MINTS

194. *O.* + STEFENE Bust to left.

R. + DAGVN:ON[

* Hunter Collection, Glasgow 16.3 g.

¹ No. 288. See also *BMC*, pp. xcix ff.

195. O. II[] + IFENE Bust to left
R. Illegible
- * (a) Ballingal ex Ryan 947, Roth II 147 16.5 g.
(b) Chatsworth From the Sheldon find. Cut half-penny¹ 7.0 g.
196. O.]ST[Bust to right
R.]OBERVS·ON[
ex Carlyon-Britton²

These coins are all of similar style and probably came from the same neighbourhood. Their very coarse work suggests they may be contemporary forgeries.

- B. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but with annulet on King's shoulder.
Rev. Similar to Type 1 but an annulet enclosing pellet replaces the fleur-de-lis and there is an annulet at the end of each limb of the cross.

UNCERTAIN MINT

197. O. + STIE[
R. Blundered and uncertain
- * BMC 238, ex Batting 15.9 g.
This coin is of very rough work.

- C. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1.
Rev. Similar to Type 1.

UNKNOWN MINT

198. O. + TIFNH (the N reversed)
R. Vertical strokes with two pellets occasionally inserted. From the South Kyme find³ 18.2 g.
199. O. Unintelligible
R. Meaningless letters and sometimes symbols
- * (a) Ballingal ex Parsons 260, Rashleigh 606 From the Watford find 19.4 g.
(b)⁴ Ballingal ex Ryan 945, Grantley 1328, Murdoch 267, Montagu II 365, Brice
(c) ex Ryan 946, Reynolds 95 From the Dartford find⁵
(d) Ballingal 17.2 g.
200. O. Uncertain
R.]VMIC·ON[
* ex Roth I 139, Montagu II 364, Brice, Wakeford

These coins with meaningless legends and sometimes symbols in place of letters were presumably issued by some influential baron or barons of the period.

- D. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but King's head is in a complete inner circle.
Rev. Similar to Type 1.

UNCERTAIN MINT

201. O. + TEI[]REE
R. + []N·ON·ETB:
- * (a) From the South Kyme find⁶ 18.4 g.
(b) Ballingal ex Taffs 138 16.7 g.

¹ *BNJ*, vii, p. 79 and plate II no. 31.

² *BMC*, p. lxxxix but not in sale.

³ *NC*, 1922, p. 82, no. 328.

⁴ Stewart, p. 5, footnote.

⁵ The evidence for this provenance will be published by Mr. Blunt and Mr. Elmore Jones in the next volume of this *Journal*.

⁶ *NC*, 1922, p. 82, no. 327.

These coins are of very fine work, the lettering much resembling that on the coins of Eustace Fitzjohn. The head is of very similar work to a coin of Durham mint in the B.M. (ex Rashleigh sale lot 608, 15.2 g).

- E. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but legend runs all round the bust.
Rev. Similar to Type 1.

UNCERTAIN MINT

202. O. + STFNE REX ANGLO

R.]N O LV

ex Montagu II 332, Toplis

From the Nottingham find

The obverse and reverse legends are doubtful. Possibly London mint.

203. O. + STIE[]GLO

R. + LEFRICVSONLIHC

Nottingham. (Cracked and broken)

From the Nottingham find

17.0 g.

The obverse and reverse legends are not altogether clear.

Possibly Lincoln mint. The moneyer LEFRIC is recorded for Henry I Type 15 at Lincoln.

- F. *Obv.* Similar to Type 1 but crosses take the place of fleurs on the crown.
Rev. Similar to Type 1.

UNCERTAIN MINT

204. O.]IEFNE R

R. A[]TNIRYCE

Ballingal ex Lockett 1154, Reynolds 94, Toplis

From the Nottingham Find

16.3 g.

- G. *Obv.* and *Rev.* similar to Type 1 but of very coarse work.

UNCERTAIN MINT

205. O. + STEFA[

R.]ON:VISE

* B.M. ex Rashleigh 603.

From the Dartford find

17.5 g.

The mint is quite uncertain.

The form VISES for Devizes is not found until the fourteenth century so the mint name cannot be Devizes¹. The coin is of very irregular work.

- H. *Obv.* Crowned bust to the right somewhat similar to Type 1 but of coarse work.
Rev. Cross fleury with trefoil of annulets in each angle.

UNCERTAIN MINT

206. O. Unintelligible

R. + s[]NEO[]ER.

* Ballingal ex Lockett 1138, Carlyon-Britton 1494

18.0 g.

This coin, with a reverse somewhat resembling Type 6 and with the obverse very similar to Type 1, could with some justification be regarded as a Type 1/6 mule. This however is most improbable and a much more likely suggestion² is that it is a local issue of some baron, the dies being engraved by an imaginative die-engraver who merely combined two types.

¹ *The Place Names of Wiltshire*, English Place-Name Society, xvi, pp. 242-3.

² *BNJ*, xxviii, p. 544.

J. Obv. Similar to Type 1, but the King's collar is generally, but not always, represented by annulets instead of pellets.

Rev. Similar to Type 1, but the cross moline is voided and has an annulet in the centre and at the end of each limb of cross.

UNCERTAIN MINT—(?) CANTERBURY

207. *O.* + STEFNE·REX

R. + SANSON:ONANT

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|---------|
| (a) <i>BMC</i> 240 | From the Awbridge find | 16·7 g. |
| * (b) ex Lockett 1158, Murdoch 253, Kennard | From the Linton find | |
| (c) <i>BMC</i> 241 | From the Awbridge find | 17·4 g. |
| (d) Mack ex Roth I 162 | | 14·3 g. |
| (e) Leeds University ex Winchester Cathedral Library | Found under Winchester Cathedral. | |
- a* and *b* are from the same dies.
d has collar of pellets

208. *O.* + STEFNX

R. + SANSON:O[

- | | | |
|--|----------------------|---------|
| * <i>BMC</i> 243, ex Montagu V 120, Wakeford | From the Linton find | 16·2 g. |
|--|----------------------|---------|

209. *O.* + STEFNEREX

R. + SANSON:ONAN:

BMC 242

From the Awbridge find 17·3 g.

210. *O.* + STEFNERE

R. + SANSON:ONANT

- | | | |
|---|--|---------|
| * Ballingal ex Drabble 1000, Reynolds 75, Wheeler 191 | | 14·0 g. |
|---|--|---------|

211. *O.* s[]

R.]ONL:ONAN

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------|----------------|
| (a) Ballingal ex Lockett 3948, Roth II 163 | From the Linton find. | Cut half-penny |
| * (b) B.M. ex Mabbott, Drabble 724 | | |

212. *O.* + STEFNE·REX

R. + SANSON:ONAN

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|---------|
| * Mack ex Lockett 3947, Reynolds 74 | | 16·0 g. |
|-------------------------------------|--|---------|

213. *O.* + ST[]AHN

R. + SANSONN[(the first s reversed)

Coats collection, Glasgow.

14·7 g.

The A in the obverse legend could be a badly formed R, the meaning of the other letters is uncertain.

This is the only recorded example in this coinage with the initial s in SANSON reversed. The first two letters of the reverse legend are in line with the Henry II Tealby type coin, *BMC* 749 and the curious Bust 'c' Tealby in Mr. Elmore Jones's collection referred to below, both of which have the initial s reversed.

213a. *O.*]STEFNE[

R. + w[]NANT

Mack ex Bliss 184.

14·3 g.

The moneyer could be WILLEM and if so this could be another pointer to the coins being of the Canterbury mint. Willem coined at Canterbury in the Henry II Tealby type, about 8 specimens being recorded, all from the same dies.

Also recorded from the Linton find but readings not recorded—2 pennies and 1 cut halfpenny¹.

These very rare coins are still one of the minor mysteries of the period. It is possible however that the problem of their place of mintage or perhaps, to be more accurate, the place of issue which the die sinker *intended* should be *implied*, may have been brought nearer a solution since Brooke's discussion of them in *BMC* (Introduction pp. xcl-xclv) and his queried acceptance of their then prevailing attribution to Southampton.

Mr. Elmore Jones writing in *BNJ* xxviii, p. 541, was the first to associate them with the early Henry II 'Tealby' type moneyer SANSVN (and this exact spelling of the name occurs on one of the Stephen coins)², a moneyer until recently known from one single coin only³ and whom he attributes to Canterbury on the strength of a second coin which has come to light since the publication of *BMC* Henry II 'Cross & Crosslets' ('Tealby') type in 1951.

Neither coin is fully legible and the attribution still has to be established with complete certainty but the fact that the same name (and one which is otherwise unknown) is found on coins of both Stephen and Henry which must have been in circulation at the same time, and were buried in the same (Awbridge) hoard, is too much of a coincidence to be ignored.

Certainly Canterbury, rather than Southampton, makes much better sense of the ANT (o) mint signature which is used on all the coins of this group bearing Stephen's name. Possibly this curious spelling of the mint name may have originated from a copyist's error in the engraving of the inscription which was used as the prototype for the coinage. No other explanation seems possible despite the volume of the coinage, which must have been considerable, at least eight different pairs of dies being known. In this connection however it is relevant to bear in mind Brooke's suggestion, however tentative, that the coins may not have been issued from the place which the inscriptions were intended to signify.⁴ Certainly the coins are of base metal and all the known specimens are of light weight. Brooke's conclusion was that this issue represents organized forgery, and forgery on a considerable scale to judge from the number of dies used, but that it is impossible to guess by whose authority it could have been made.

The standard of the die engraving varies considerably; some (for example nos 207b and 211a⁵, both from the Linton find and presumably early in the issue) achieve a remarkably high standard for an irregular coinage.

The evidence of the Awbridge find makes it certain that these coins were in circulation after Stephen's death, possibly until 1162 or even later. Consequently their presence in the Linton find, their only other known hoard provenance and a find in which the latest regular coins were of Stephen's second type, would seem to be an anomaly. However this may not be the case; their presence there could well be another pointer to the tentative conclusion expressed earlier in this paper that Type 2 may have run until as late a date as 1153.

One further aspect of these baffling coins remains to be mentioned. Their reverse design, in which are combined features of *both* Types 1 and 7, is precisely the same as that of the unique coin of Henry of Anjou (No. 246 from the Winterslow find) struck at Gloucester by the moneyer RADEWLF, presumably, but not necessarily, the RALF of the Type 7 coins of that mint. Its precise dating is quite uncertain but it is hardly likely to have been later than

¹ W. J. Andrew. *BMC*, p. xcii in a footnote.

² No. 210 above.

³ *BMC* No. 749 (ex Awbridge find) and very tentatively assigned to Wallingford. There is no obverse die link with *BMC* 750. The second specimen

referred to above is a late class 'C' coin in Mr. Elmore Jones' collection which clearly reads + SA[]ON:CA (the s reversed).

⁴ *BMC*, p. xci-xciv.

⁵ Lockett sale catalogue nos 1158 and 3948.

1147 from which it seems inconceivable that the dies for the SANSON coins could have been the work of the same hand. Furthermore its obverse has the distinctive appearance which is characteristic of the Hereford coins in Stephen's name from 'local' dies. Probably therefore the exact similarity of the reverse design to that of the 'SANSON' coins is simply a coincidence. As to these latter this latest interpretation of the mint signature, if right, could well be a step forward but all the main problems surrounding these coins still remain unresolved¹.

K. *Obv.* Very crude but in some ways resembling the obverse of Henry I Type 15.

Rev. Similar to Stephen Type 1

UNCERTAIN MINT

214. O. Unintelligible

R. IED:ON:AN[(A unbarred, N's reversed)

Ballinal

15.5 g.

This is a very peculiar coin. Unfortunately the obverse is in rather poor condition but it has some resemblance to Henry I Type 15. It is unlikely to be a Henry I/Stephen mule. Like no. 206 it is probably the work of an imaginative die-engraver copying two types and struck locally by some baron. Whether the AN mint signature has any connection with the SANSON coins it is impossible to say.

L. *Double Reverse Die.*

Obv. Similar to reverse of Type 1.

Rev. Similar to Type 1.

214a. O and R. legends blundered and uncertain

B.M. ex Mabbott

(Chipped)

11.4 g.

THE ROYAL COINAGE OF YORK.

During the generally unsettled condition of the country due to the civil war, particularly about the time of Stephen's captivity in 1141, York, the principal mint in the north of England, found itself cut off from London and was thrown upon its own resources for the production of money. This not only led to variations of the standard types of coin but also presented the moneyers with an opportunity to issue coins of light weight and base silver without much risk of being found out. It seems they were not slow to take advantage of this and there is an attractive series of coins of this period that can only have been struck at York. One such coin does in fact bear the York mint name². The fact that they are generally below weight and standard in no way detracts from their appearance, except perhaps accounting for the many coins of this period that have reached us in a broken condition. To avoid detection the moneyers intentionally blundered the reverse inscriptions, often substituting various ornaments in the legend instead of letters, so that in place of the moneyer's name and mint there was a meaningless jumble of letters and ornaments. This probably meant little to the general public, the majority of whom could not read or write.

But from the artistic side the moneyers made full use of their opportunity and produced some attractive and original designs which on the whole were very well executed. These were

¹ See also *BNJ*, xx, pp. 89 ff.

² No. 217h below.

not confined to the Royal mint alone. Eustace Fitzjohn and Robert de Stuteville both struck coins bearing their own names which by their style, lettering and ornaments cannot have been issued from any mint other than York, even if these two barons were not intimately connected with this part of the country. The very rare penny of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, (No. 229) must also have been struck at York.

All these coins have very much in common with one another and a detailed examination reveals lettering of a neat though disjointed type which is peculiar to this series alone. The ornaments in the legend do not occur on any other coins outside this series while the same ornaments are found on all the issues with the exception of some coins of the lion type of Eustace Fitzjohn.

As stated above, one coin bears the York mint name whilst the obverse of all the Royal coins bearing Stephen's name, with the exception of the Two-figure type, are similar to the first type of Stephen. Assuming the Two-figure type to have been struck at York during Stephen's captivity, it is safe to assume the remainder were all struck at York sometime shortly before 1141.

The Royal coins of York struck in the name of Stephen other than those of the regular Type 1 are of five distinct types.

TYPE 1.

Obv. Crowned bust to the right, holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen type 1 but of rather curious workmanship; the beaded inner circle runs through the King's bust. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

Rev. Similar to Stephen Type 1.

215. *O.* + NSEPEFETI (the N reversed)

R. + WISEGNETA (the N reversed) interspersed with ornaments

* *BM* ex Lockett 1162, Reynolds 82, Murdoch 258

20.0 g.

216. *O.* + STIEFNEI (the N reversed)

R. + WISEGNOTA (the N reversed) interspersed with ornaments

* Ballingal ex Lockett 2967, Roth I 166

19.5 g.

This is probably the first type struck at York shortly after the loss of central control from London. It forms a connecting link between the ordinary first type of Stephen and the Flag type.

This type is also closely connected with the profile type of Robert de Stuteville (No. 227).

TYPE 2, THE FLAG TYPE.

217. *Obv.* Crowned bust to the right, similar to Stephen type 1 but instead of a sceptre the King holds a flag or pennant in his right hand. There is a star in the field to the right. + STIEFNE R.

Rev. Similar to Stephen Type 1.

One coin reads + VI[]DNESIONEVI: (the N reversed) and may definitely be attributed to the York mint (h below). Other coins of this type have meaningless legends principally composed of a few letters interspersed with various ornaments.¹

¹ *NC*, 1896, p. 59.

* (a)	BMC 254 ex Roberts	From Winterslow find	19.0 g.
* (b)	BMC 255 ex Murdoch 255, Montagu II 342, Brice, Lady-in-the-North 15, Murchison 32, Martin 68		17.9 g.
* (c)	BMC 256, ex Montagu II 343		19.0 g.
(d)	BMC 257, ex Montagu II 344, Wakeford		14.9 g.
* (e)	BMC 258, ex Durrant 197, Dimsdale 220?		16.6 g.
* (f)	BMC 259, ex Sewening		14.5 g.
* (g)	Oxford ex Lockett 1161		13.0 g.
* (h)	ex Ryan 930, Wheeler 190, Reynolds 83		19.5 g.
* (j)	Ballingal ex Ryan 931, Carlyon-Britton 1496		16.5 g.
* (k)	Mack ex Drabble 1003		18.2 g.
* (l)	ex Drabble 730		
(m)	Ballingal ex Grantley 1312, Rashleigh 621		15.1 g.
* (n)	ex Wheeler 189, Watters 181, Rashleigh 620, 'Anonymous', Dean of St. Patrick 389	(Clipped)	
(o)	ex Roth II 148, Webb 37		
* (p)	ex Roth I 137, Richardson 70, Marsham 268, Bergue 335, Whitbourn 153, Cuff 757, Durrant 196, Tyssen 1129.		

The object which replaces the sceptre in the King's right hand on the obverse of these coins has been variously described but the most likely explanation is that it represents in miniature the standard which was carried into battle at Northallerton in August 1138 when Stephen's army, raised by Archbishop Thurstan of York, defeated the Scots¹. The standard consisted of a heavy mast carrying the flags of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley and St. Wilfrith of Ripon, borne on a four-wheeled wagon and crowned with a silver pyx containing the Host. If this issue was struck to commemorate the battle, as seems likely, the date of issue would be late 1138 or early 1139.

TYPE 3.

218. *Obv.* Similar to Stephen Type 1 but lozenge containing a pellet in place of spike of lis on sceptre.

+ STIEN and ornaments (the S reversed).

Rev. Saltire fleury on cross pattée. Ornaments take the place of a legend.

* (a)	BMC 260, ex Mrs. Combe	17.2 g.
* (b)	Ballingal ex Lockett 1163, Carlyon-Britton 1497, Rashleigh 614, Cuff 760, Jones-Long 14	(Clipped) 16.6 g.

This is an interesting type as it combines the obverse of Stephen's first type with the reverse of the horseman type of Robert de Souteville. The ornaments, too, on both sides of the coin, are similar. It was probably struck before 1141.

TYPE 4.

219. *Obv.* Similar to Stephen Type 1.

[RE

Rev. Cross fleury over cross with floreated ends.

[RT:ON[

*	Ballingal ex Lawrence 370, Montagu 351, Brice	Cut halfpenny	7.5 g.
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This type is only known to us through the above cut halfpenny. The style of the coin is somewhat similar to the Two-figure type (Type 5 below).

¹ BMC, p. cvii.

TYPE 5.—THE TWO-FIGURE TYPE.

220. *Obv.* King Stephen and Queen Matilda standing, facing each other, supporting between them a long sceptre fleury.

+ STIENER or + STEFID

Rev. Cross fleury over saltire pommée, annulets in the field.

Ornaments take the place of a legend. On some coins the annulets in the field are omitted.

This type is one of the most interesting and curious of the whole period. The figures depicted on the obverse have in the past been attributed to Eustace, the son of Stephen, and Queen Matilda;¹ Prince Henry of Scotland and Queen Matilda;² and King Stephen and Queen Matilda³. The last is now considered to be the correct attribution. Eustace was not knighted until 1147 or 1149, presumably when he reached the age of seventeen, so when this type was issued he would have been no more than a child. The male figure on the coin is that of a fully grown man in armour. That the figures represent Prince Henry and Queen Matilda struck in 1139 to commemorate the peace treaty concluded at Durham after the battle of Northallerton is also improbable. It is most unlikely that the King's ex-enemy would be placed beside the Queen on any coin struck in the name of Stephen.

The two figures, one a male in chain armour and wearing a peaked helmet and long trousers, the other a female with her long hair tied with a ribbon and wearing a mail bodice and triangular skirt may be taken to represent Queen Matilda helping King Stephen to support the sceptre of the Kingdom of England during the latter's captivity in 1141.

* (a) BMC 263, ex Roberts, Rebello?	17.3 g.
* (b) BMC 262, ex Hans Sloane	21.7 g.
* (c) BMC 261, ex Montagu II 352, Brice, Lady-in-the-North 17, Murchison 38, Cuff 764	17.8 g.
* (d) Cambridge ex Lockett 1164, Roth I 146, Spurrier 38, Bentham, Loscombe 1115	18.0 g.
* (e) ex Ryan 932, Bliss 186, Maynard 19	18.0 g.
* (f) ex Wheeler 192, Reynolds 85, Montagu II 353, Addington, Bergne 335, Durrant 208, Tyssen 1133, Tutet 53, Grainger 25	20.0 g.
(g) Mack ex Bruun 233	(Chipped)
* (h) ex Grantley 1313, Rashleigh 623, Pembroke 61	(Chipped) 16.9 g.
* (j) Oxford ex Marshall 87, Grantley 1314, Carlyon-Britton 1499	19.4 g.
* (k) Ballingal ex Drabble 1005, Huth	18.0 g.
* (l) ex Drabble 734, Reynolds 84	20.5 g.
(m) Ballingal ex Lawrence 369	Broken and repaired
(n) Oxford ex Browne Willis	18.4 g.
(o) Oxford ex Corpus Christi College	19.4 g.
* (p) ex Rashleigh 622, Brumell 266, Martin 72	18.2 g.
(q) Archbishop Sharp	
(r) Hunter Collection, Glasgow	13.2 g.

THE BARONIAL COINAGE OF YORK

EUSTACE FITZJOHN.

All the coins bearing the name of Eustace can be attributed to Eustace Fitzjohn, a Yorkshire magnate who was prominent at the beginning of Stephen's reign⁴. It is true that at the present time only one coin, and that a fragment (see No. 225 below) is known with his name inscribed upon it but by the style and lettering it may be connected with the Eustace

¹ *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Nov.-Dec. 1914.

² *NC*, 1896, pp. 69-70, *NC*, 1914, p. 628.

³ *BMC*, p. cviii.

⁴ *BMC*, pp. cxiii ff.

full-figure type and we cannot very well separate the two Eustace lion types.¹ The lion type bearing the name IOANES is very similar in style to the full-figure type, the lettering, design and ornaments being of very good workmanship. The other, with the name EVSTACHIOS, although being similar in style and lettering has ornaments in the reverse inscription that are different to any others found in the York issues. That the issue was a Yorkshire one is made certain by the similarity of the ornaments of the Eustace full-figure type with those of the Flag type of Stephen from York (see No. 217 h), in fact some of the ornaments may have been made with the same punches. Not only this but some of the full-figure types have an inscription which identifies them with York though the rest of the legend is undecipherable whilst others have the name Thomas FitzUlf, which can be interpreted as Thomas FitzUlvet, an Alderman of York mentioned in the Pipe Rolls of 1130,² inscribed upon the reverse.

The Stephen York coins were almost certainly struck before the end of 1141, so presumably the Eustace coins are of about the same date. This being so the attribution of these coins to Eustace, the eldest son of Stephen, may be discounted. We do not know for certain the date of his birth but we do know he was knighted in either 1147 or 1149³, so at the most he could only have been ten years old when these coins were issued and had the figure on the coins been intended to represent him he would hardly have been depicted as a knight in full armour.

The date of Eustace Fitzjohn fits the date of the Eustace coins but we know very little about him. He was certainly a Yorkshire baron and was lord of Malton and Knaresborough but his connection with York City is uncertain. He is supposed to have been connected with the court of Henry I and this no doubt led him to support the Empress Matilda during the civil war. In February 1138 he was deprived of the custody of Bamburgh Castle by Stephen on the grounds that he was conspiring with the Empress. In July 1138 he joined David of Scotland, surrendering to him his castle at Alnwick and fighting on his side at the Battle of the Standard in August 1138. After the battle he retired with David into Northumberland and later went to Carlisle. He may have been wounded in the fighting as he is referred to in contemporary chronicles as 'that one-eyed traitor'. After this he seems to have been reconciled to Stephen, at least for a time, for we see him witnessing a charter at Stamford early in 1142, but after this he is lost sight of and we only hear of him again towards the end of the reign 'founding and endowing religious houses'.⁴

The only coin of Eustace from a recorded find is the one from Catal, Yorkshire, in 1684, which cannot today be identified.

FULL-FIGURE TYPE.

Obv. Full-figure standing to the right, bearded, in mail armour and pointed helmet, holding sword; pellet, or annulet enclosing pellet, each side of helmet. In field to the left, an ornament. Around, inscription between two circles divided by figure, the outer circle beaded.

Rev. A quatrefoil enclosing a cross pattée with bar across each limb. In the field are annulets enclosing pellets. Around, inscription between two circles, the outer one beaded.

¹ *NC*, 1890, pp. 42 ff.

² Pipe Roll, Henry I, ed. Hunter, p. 34.

³ Ramsay (*Foundations*, vol. ii p. 437, note 4).

⁴ G. C. Brooke in *BMC*, pp. cxi-cxvi. For further

discussion on the attribution of these coins see *NC* III 5, x, p. 42; *BNJ*, iv, p. 363 and *Numismatic Circular*, Dec. 1914.

YORK MINT

221. *O.* EVSTACIVS + (the s reversed)*R.* + EBORACIEDTS (the s reversed and ornaments in legend)

- * (a) *BMC* 264, ex Durrant 207, Dimsdale 223 18.5 g.
 (b) Hunter Collection, Glasgow 18.7 g.
 * (c) ex Ryan 933, Wheeler 195, Reynolds 86, Murdoch 262, Webb 43
 * (d) ex Drabble 731, Bruun 236, Roth I 147, Montagu II 358, Brice, Wigan 18.7 g.
 (e) Oxford ex Corpus Christi College 16.0 g.
 (f) ex Spink & Son (Pierced)
a and *b* are from the same obverse die.
c and *d* are from the same obverse die.
a, *b*, *c* and *d* are from the same reverse die.

222. *O.* EVSTACIVS + (the s reversed)*R.* + EBORACITDEF (ornaments in legend)

- * *BMC* 265, ex Roberts, Bootle and Selby 18.3 g.
 From same obverse die as 221a above.

223. *O.* EVSTACIVS + (the s reversed)*R.* + TH(lig.)OMASFILIUSVLF

- * (a) *BMC* 266 ex Murchison 40, Cuff 766 19.0 g.
 (b) *BMC* 267, ex Pembroke 62 18.9 g.
 * (c) Mack ex Lockett 2972, Roth II 149, Rashleigh 624, Maynard 20 14.7 g.
 All from same pair of dies.

224. *O.* EVSTACIVS

No annulet enclosing pellets in field. Pellet each side of helmet.

R. Ornaments in place of legend.

Annulets enclosing pellets omitted in field round quatrefoil.

- * (a) *BMC* 268, ex Roberts, Lister Parker 16.1 g.
 * (b) Ballingal ex Lockett 1170, Middleton 17.5 g.
 (c) The Hon. Ralph Assheton collection
 (d) Archbishop Sharp collection

LION TYPE.

Obv. Lion passant to the right, various ornaments in the field above and below. Around, inscription between two beaded circles.

Rev. Cross fleury over saltire, each limb terminating in small crosses patées. Annulets in the field.

YORK MINT

225. *O.* + [] CH IOANIS (A inverted, N reversed) interspersed with ornaments*R.* Meaningless letters and ornaments

- * B.M. ex Lawrence, Dimsdale 225 (Fragment)

226. *O.* EISTACHIVS:*R.* Ornaments in place of legend

- * (a) *BMC* 269 (acquired before 1810) 18.8 g.
 (b) *BMC* 270, ex King George III (Chipped) 16.6 g.
 (c) ex Lawrence 368 (Broken)
 * (d) Mack ex Bruun 237 (Chipped)
 (e) Leeds University ex Winchester Cathedral Library (Broken)

- * (f) ex Lockett 1171, Carlyon-Britton 1500, Montagu II 359, Brico, Bergne 336, Durrant, Dimsdale 224 19.1 g.
(g) Mack ex Grantley 1315. Bought in Rome (Chipped)
- * (h) ex Drabble 732, Packe
- * (j) ex Ryan 934, Roth I 148, Robinson
- (k) Oxford ex Corpus Christi College 18.7 g.
- (l) Oxford ex Passmore (Fragment) 12.6 g.
- * (m) Ballingal ex Drabble 1004 16.2 g.
- (n) The Hon. Ralph Assheton collection
- (o) The Hon. Ralph Assheton collection
- (p) Conys collection, Glasgow 16.3 g.
- (q) Hunter collection, Glasgow 15.2 g.
- * (r) ex Reynolds 87, Murdoch 263, Roston 80a, Montagu (1888) 89, Addington, Murchison 39, Cuff 765, Devonshire 71 18.0 g.
- * (s) ex Rashleigh 625, Loscombe 1116
- (t) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Bought in France c. 1963 (Chipped)
- All the coins illustrated are from the same pair of dies.

ROBERT DE STUTEVILLE.

History has practically nothing to tell us about Robert de Stuteville except that he was a Yorkshire baron who, with others, met at York in 1138 to consider measures of defence against David of Scotland. He is supposed to have been the father of the sheriff of Yorkshire of 1170-75 and during Henry II's reign is heard of laying claims to land at Coxwold which adjoins Newburgh Priory.¹ Only seven of his coins are known to-day. Six of these are of the horseman type depicting an armed figure on horseback and the similarity of their style to that of other irregular issues struck at York (the reverse is similar to one of the Royal issues of Stephen struck at York (No. 218)) suggests an early date of issue, probably before 1141. Unfortunately only one of these six coins, the one in the Hunter collection at Glasgow, is whole, the others all being chipped or broken with pieces missing. The Hunter coin has the full reading with the exception of the letters *DE*, but these can be read by comparison with another specimen (e below).

The remaining coin of different type was found at Peterborough and is probably earlier than the horseman type as it somewhat resembles Stephen Type 1 but with Robert's name on the obverse. The reverse has a legend which appears on a coin of Stephen interspersed with ornaments (No. 216).

As this issue came from York it is unlikely that the coin belongs to any of the other Roberts of the period.

An interesting brooch was found in a barrow in Norfolk, with armed figures on horseback to the right, very similar to the coins.² The brief inscription on it undoubtedly stands for Robertus.

TYPE 1.³

227. *Obv.* Crowned bust to the right similar to Stephen Type 1.

+ *ROBDS* []

Rev. Cross moline with fleurs in the angles similar to Stephen Type 1.

+ *WISDGNOTIA* (retrograde)

Found at Peterborough. This coin cannot now be traced.

¹ *NC.* 1896, p. 70; *BMC*, p. cxvi.

² *Archaeological Journal*, ii, p. 314-315.

³ Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 94.

TYPE 2.

228. *Obv.* Armed figure on horseback to the right wearing helmet. Around, inscription between two beaded circles, broken by sword and helmet.

+ ROBERTVS DE STV

Rev. Cross pattée over saltire fleury. Ornaments in place of legend between two beaded circles.

- * (a) BMC 271, ex Barclay 50, Dimsdale 227 (Broken) 16.4 g.
 - * (b) Hunter collection, Glasgow 17.4 g.
 - * (c) ex Grantley 1316, Carlyon-Britten 1501 (Edge broken) 15.6 g.
 - (d) Mack ex S. M. Spink collection, Roth II 150 (Fragment)
 - * (e) ex Ryan 935, Wheeler 196, Reynolds 88, Lawrence, Montagu II 357, Marsham 273, Wigan, Pembroke 59 (Broken)
 - * (f) ex Drabble 733 (Broken)
- a, b and c are from the same pair of dies.

HENRY OF BLOIS, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Henry of Blois was the younger brother of Stephen. On Stephen's accession in 1135 Henry gave his brother his full support and was undoubtedly instrumental in winning over the Church and Archbishop, as well as the Treasury, to Stephen's cause. On March 1, 1139 he received a legatine commission from Pope Innocent II. This gave him authority over the Primate, Archbishop Theobald, whose see he is supposed to have hoped for before Theobald's appointment in 1136.

In the summer of 1139, Henry deserted his brother and gave his support to the Empress Matilda. In July 1141 he was persuaded by Queen Matilda to rejoin Stephen, the King still being a captive at Bristol.

In 1142 Henry urged the Pope to raise the see of Winchester to a metropolitan see for the West of England but this was refused. Henry, no doubt, had his eye on the future when his appointment as legate would terminate on the death of Pope Innocent II and he would become subordinate to Archbishop Theobald.

Pope Innocent II died in 1143 and Henry's legateship was not renewed by the new Pope Eugenius III. After this there was more or less open hostility between Henry and Theobald until in 1153 the two came together in the cause of peace which culminated in the treaty of Winchester when Henry of Anjou was declared Stephen's successor and heir.

The coinage of Henry of Blois is a most unusual and interesting one. Like the pennies struck by the Archbishops of Canterbury in the late eighth century it has the episcopal title on the obverse and the Royal title on the reverse, denoting no doubt that the coinage was issued with the authority of or in support of the King. The coin has much in common with other baronial issues struck at York and it seems the die must have been made there and probably the coins struck there also. But the question arises why should the Bishop of Winchester strike coins at York and why should he strike coins at all? The answer may be that besides being the King's brother he was an extremely powerful man. From 1139 to 1143 he was legate and it is known that during Stephen's captivity the Pope urged him to work for his release. The coins are very similar to Stephen Type I and must therefore have been issued fairly early in the reign; they would certainly be issued during his term of office as legate. It therefore seems possible that they were struck between July and November 1141 during the King's captivity and after Henry had rejoined the Royalist party, perhaps

to indicate his loyalty to the King. He may even have assumed the leadership of the party in his capacity of legate and King's brother. William of Malmesbury (if any reliance can be placed on his statements) quotes Henry as saying that by the condescension of the Pope he acted as vice-regent at this period. But the connection with York must for the time being remain a mystery¹.

At the present day only two coins are known of Henry of Blois. One, a fragment, was in the Pembroke sale of 1848 and is now in the British Museum. The other, which has a slight chip, was bought in a junk shop in York early this century by a Mr. Walker for one shilling. On his death in 1907 it was acquired by Major P. W. Carlyon-Britton and then passed through the Grantley and Ryan sales. It is now in the writer's collection.

229. *Obv.* Bust to the right, similar to Stephen Type 1, holding crozier; in field to right, a star; around, inscription divided by bust within beaded circles.

+ HENRICUS EPC (the N and S reversed).

Rev. Cross pattée, with bar on each limb, over saltire fleury. Around, inscription between two beaded circles.

STEPHANUS . REX (the N and S reversed).

* (a) BMC 272, ex Pembroke 35

(Broken) 15.9 g.

* (b) Mack, ex Ryan 936, Grantley 1317, Carlyon-Britton 1498, Walker

(Chipped) 18.0 g.

THE COINAGE OF THE ANGEVIN PARTY

THE EMPRESS MATILDA.²

Matilda was born in 1103, the daughter of Henry I and his wife Edith. She left England at the age of eight and her early childhood was spent in Germany. In 1114 she married the Emperor Henry V. He died in 1125 and there were no children of the marriage. In 1126 she returned to England and was accepted by the barons as the rightful successor to the throne. In 1128 she returned to the continent and married Geoffrey of Anjou. Three sons were born of this marriage, Henry, Geoffrey and William. On the death of Henry I in 1135 the barons refused to acknowledge her as Queen and Stephen, her cousin, was crowned King in her place.

On September 30th, 1139, she came to England to try and gain the throne, landing on the coast near Arundel in Sussex with her half-brother Robert, Earl of Gloucester. She remained in Arundel for a short time with her step-mother, Adeliza, eventually going on to Bristol protected by an escort somewhat surprisingly provided for her by Stephen. On October 15th she went to Gloucester. She remained in the west of England making Bristol and Gloucester her headquarters until after the battle of Lincoln on February 2nd 1141 when Robert of Gloucester brought Stephen a captive to Gloucester. She then went to Cirencester and from there, on February 16th, carried on negotiations with the legate, Henry, Bishop of Winchester. On March 2nd she met Henry at Wherwell, near Andover, when arrangements were made for her accession, being admitted to Winchester the following day and being received in state in the cathedral. She was probably in Oxford for Easter 1141 and at Winchester, on April 8th, was formally elected Queen of England. Shortly after this a deputation arrived from London demanding the release of the King and while efforts were being made

¹ BMC, p. cxvii; NC, 1914, p. 628.

² BMC, p. lxxxiv.

to win over the Londoners to her side she went to Reading and St. Albans, being joined there by her uncle, King David of Scotland, who had come south to assist at the coronation. Shortly before midsummer the Londoners gave in and received her in the city but having demanded a subsidy and generally behaved in an arrogant and high-handed manner she was thrown out and went back to Oxford. She then quarrelled with Henry, Bishop of Winchester, who deserted her and went back to his brother Stephen's side. Robert of Gloucester having failed to reconcile Henry, the Empress went to Winchester with an armed force and on July 31st laid siege to the bishop in his new palace at Wolvesey. Meanwhile Queen Matilda, Stephen's wife, and William of Ypres, who had entered London on the departure of the Empress, arrived at Winchester and in turn besieged the Empress and Earl Robert. The Empress eventually escaped on September 14th, going through Ludgershall and Devizes to Gloucester, but Robert was not so fortunate and he was captured at Stockbridge, later being exchanged for Stephen who was released at Bristol on November 1st. After this the Empress went back to Oxford where she spent the winter of 1141-2, at the end of March going to Devizes. From here she sent a message to her husband Geoffrey, who was still in Normandy, asking him to come over and help her. Geoffrey did not come himself but in the autumn sent their eldest son, the young Duke Henry, now nine years old. From September to December 1142 the Empress was besieged by Stephen in Oxford Castle and only escaped at night over ice and snow when provisions began to get short, making her way to Wallingford via Abingdon. After this she went back to her old headquarters at Bristol and Gloucester and ceased to take much further interest in the civil war which for the next five years was carried on by Robert of Gloucester on behalf of her eldest son, Henry of Anjou. On October 31st, 1147 Robert died and in February 1148 the Empress Matilda left England for good. She died on September 10th 1167 at Notre Dame des Prés.

The titles used by the Empress Matilda on her charters were as follows:—

M Imperatrix regis Henrici filia

Matildis Imperatrix H Regis filia

Matildis Imperatrix Henrici regis filia et Anglorum domina

In two cases *regina* was wrongly substituted for *domina*, no doubt in anticipation of her coronation which had been fixed for June 24th, 1141, but was prevented by the revolt of London. On her coins, which are all of the first type of Stephen, she is variously described on the obverse in abbreviated forms as Imperatrix, Matildis Comitissa, and Matildis Imperatrix. The coins are of good silver but generally below standard weight. They are of rough work, the dies having been cut by hand instead of being made with punching irons. An exception is an Oxford penny the reverse of which is made in the usual way with punches, the die perhaps having fallen into the Empress' hands when Oxford Castle surrendered to her at Easter 1141. The coins all come from central and west country mints as might be expected. They were probably all struck between 1139 and 1142. Some have the letters DE instead of ON separating the moneyer's name and mint.

MINTS: Bristol,
Oxford,
Wareham,
Uncertain.

Obv. Similar to Stephen Type 1.

Rev. Similar to Stephen Type 1.

BRISTOL MINT

230. O. :IMPERATR:

R. + TVRCHIL·DE·BRIST

- * (a) Oxford ex Marshall 84, Grantley 1307, Carlyon-Britton 1507, Rashleigh 628 From the Dartford find 17·3 g.
 * (b) ex Carlyon-Britton, Rashleigh 629 From the Dartford find 15·8 g.
 (c) Oxford 15·8 g.
 a and b are from the same pair of dies.

231. O. :MATILDIS·INPER: (the N reversed)

R. + ARFENI:[]BRIST

- * (a) Ballingal ex Drabble 1006, Bruun 234, Roth I 149 From the Dartford find 18·6 g.
 * (b) ex Marshall 83, Grantley 1306, Murdoch 261, Wright, Toplis, Andrew From the Nottingham find 15·1 g.
 (c) B.M. From the South Kyme find 15·1 g.
 a and c are from the same obverse die

232. O. MATILDI:IMP

R. + GVRDAN·DE·BRIS

- * (a) ex Carlyon-Britton 1508, Rashleigh 632, Marsham 272 17·0 g.
 * (b) ex Lockett 2973

233. O. [:MI] MPERA·

R. + RODBERD: DE:BR[ISTO]V

- * (a) Mack ex Taffs 139 16·8 g.
 * (b) ex Drabble 735
 a and b are from the same pair of dies.
 The reading BRISTOV occurs in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II and in Domesday.

OXFORD MINT

234. O. MATILDI:IMP:

R. + SVETIG:ON:OX:

- * (a) BMC 273, ex Montagu II 354, Toplis From the Nottingham find 17·2 g.
 * (b) ex Ryan, 938, Reynolds 89, Rashleigh 630 From the Dartford find 16·5 g.
 (c) Oxford Found near Folkestone in 1878¹ 16·2 g.

WAREHAM MINT

235. O. MATILDI:IMP

R. + RAVL·DE·WAR

- * Ballingal ex Lockett 1173, Bruun 235, Roth I 152, Douglas 16·9 g.

236. O. MATILDIS IMP

R. + RAVL·ON·WAR

- (a) ex Roth I 151, Montagu V 119 17·0 g.
 * (b) ex Roth II 152, Toplis From the Nottingham find 14·0 g.

UNCERTAIN MINTS

237. O. :MATILDIS:IMP

R. + SI[]ER:CA

- (a) ex Roth II 150 From the Nottingham find 13·5 g.
 * (b) ex Lockett 3954, Roth II 151 From the Nottingham find 14·0 g.
 a and b are from the same pair of dies.

¹ *Archaeologia*, xlvii, p. 2.

The mint reading CA could stand for either Canterbury, Carlisle or Cardiff but the attribution of these two coins to these places is extremely unlikely. Canterbury castle was in the hands of Robert of Gloucester's troops when Stephen first arrived in England and he was refused admittance there,² but it is evident that the town was in the hands of the Royalists throughout the civil war and it was from this part of the country that Queen Matilda raised the troops she led to London in June 1141 when Stephen was a captive.

In the South Kyme find there were two coins of Stephen Type 1 of rough work with obverse reading + :ISTIEN, reverse + WILLEM:ON:CA[³. William is a known moneyer of Carlisle and colon stops before the King's name also occur on the obverse of the CA coins of Matilda. It is possible, but unlikely, that David of Scotland struck coins at Carlisle in support of the Empress.

There is no evidence that the Empress Matilda ever visited Wales and Cardiff must be out of the question.

The style of the Matilda coins suggests they were struck in the south rather than the north of England and a possible attribution is to Calne in Wiltshire. The borough of Calne is situated between Malmesbury and Chippenham, a part of the country which was always loyal to the Empress. She passed through Calne on her way to Bristol after her arrival in England in 1139.

238. O. MATILDI COL:

R. + ALFRED[]VD

* ex Marshall 85, Grantley 1308, Rashleigh 631

From the Watford find

18.5 g.

239. O. MATILDI:IM

R.]RA[]F: DE[]VN[

* ex Ryan 937, Roth I 150, Marsham 272, Bohn

14.0 g.

240. O.]C: IMP[

R.]VRIC :[]N[

ex Roth I 149

HENRY OF ANJOU.

Henry of Anjou was born on March 5th, 1133, the eldest son of the Empress Matilda and Geoffrey of Anjou. In the spring of 1147 he was sent over from Normandy with a small band of adventurers but little or no money. His object was to create a diversion to help Gilbert of Clare at Pevensey. He attacked Cricklade and Bourton but both attacks failed, his men deserted him and at the end of May he was compelled to return to Normandy.

Early in 1149 he paid another visit to England, landing at Wareham and going on to Carlisle where on May 23rd he was knighted by his great uncle, David of Scotland. At Carlisle plans were made for a campaign against Stephen but these fell through and Henry was once again forced to return to Normandy where he landed in January 1150.

When he reached the age of seventeen his father transferred to him the Duchy of Normandy and for the next year or so he was fully occupied fighting a war against Louis VII. In September 1151 his father died and he inherited all his titles. In 1152 Henry married Eleanor, the former wife of Louis VII, and was again involved in a war with France from which he was not free until January 1153 when he once more came to England, this time at the request of the beleaguered garrison at Wallingford. On landing he met with more success than he had done

¹ BMC, p. lxxxvii.

² NC, 1922, p. 82, nos. 325 and 326.

on previous occasions and having defeated Stephen's force at Malmesbury went on to relieve Wallingford castle. From there he went to Bristol and having been joined by the Earls of Chester and Leicester made a triumphant march through the midlands. There was little that Stephen could do to stop him, so when Eustace, the King's eldest son, died on August 10th, 1153, Stephen seized the opportunity for a compromise and at Winchester on November 6th, 1153, a treaty was drawn up in which Stephen formally declared Henry of Anjou to be his successor and heir.¹ The treaty was ratified at Westminster later in the year. After this, Henry stayed in England until Easter 1154 when he went back to Normandy, returning on Stephen's death in October to ascend the throne as Henry II.

We have seen that the coinage issued by the Angevin party in England in the name of the Empress Matilda was probably struck between the years 1139 and 1142 and this is borne out by their similarity to Stephen Type 1. After her flight from Oxford in December 1142 the Empress took no further part in the civil war which was carried on by Robert of Gloucester on behalf of her son, Henry of Anjou. After 1142 the name of Henry was substituted for Matilda on the Angevin coinage, at first the type otherwise remaining the same but later adopting varied reverses. It seems likely that the profile types continued up to about the time of Earl Robert's death in 1147, the type then changing to a facing bust to coincide with Stephen's regular Type 2 which would have been issued sometime earlier. This is more or less borne out by the Winterslow find in which coins of all types of Henry of Anjou, except the first and fourth, were found in company with coins of Stephen's first three types. For a few years after 1147 the fortunes of the Angevin party were at a low ebb and it is doubtful if much money was coined until a revival took place in 1153. But there were no coins of Henry of Anjou from the Awbridge find which was composed mostly of the last type of Stephen and the first type of Henry II.

The coinage of both the Empress Matilda and her son Henry must have represented the main currency of the west of England at that time and would in all probability have been issued from many of the larger towns in that part of the country. But surprisingly few of the coins have survived to the present day.

MINTS:	Bristol	Gloucester	?Sherborne
	Hereford	Malmesbury	Uncertain

TYPE 1.

Obv. Crowned bust to the right holding sceptre, similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

Rev. Cross moline similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

HEREFORD MINT

241. *O.* + HENRICVS

R. + WILLELM ON]:HEREFORD

* ex Drabble 737, Bruun 238, Roth I 153, Marsham 254, Ellis, Tyssen

242. *O.*]HNN:HHOI

R. + W[LLELM ON]:HEREFORD

* BMC 275, ex Rev. G. J. Chester

(Pierced) 17.6 g.

From same reverse die as No. 241 above.

¹ A. L. Poole, *Oxford History of England, Domesday to Magna Carta*, p. 165 and footnote. The statement, still often repeated, that the treaty was

made at Wallingford is based on a confusion by the thirteenth century chronicler, Roger of Wendover.

243. *O.* : + HENRICVS*R.* + PIC[]RIC:ONHER:

* (a) BMC 274, ex Durrant 195, Rev. W. Woolston

15.9 g.

(b) ex Marshall 86, Drabble 1008

MALMESBURY MINT

244. *O.* : REX:AN:*R.* + WAL[TE]RI:DE:MAL[]:

* B.M. ex Roth II 137

From the Nottingham find

15.7 g.

UNCERTAIN MINT

245. *O.* + HE[] (retrograde)*R.* + ON:D[]ES (retrograde)From the South Kyme find¹

16.7 g.

This coin is of very coarse work and what remains of the legend on both sides is uncertain. The attribution to Henry of Anjou must be considered very doubtful.

TYPE 2.

Obv. Crowned bust to the right holding sceptre, similar to Stephen Type 1. Rosette of pellets at end of legend. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

Rev. Similar to Stephen Type 1 but the cross moline is voided and has an annulet in the centre and at the end of each limb. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

GLOUCESTER MINT

246. *O.* + HENRIC : rosette of pellets*R.* + RADEWLF:ONGLO

* BMC 276, ex B. C. Roberts

From the Winterslow find

16.7 g.

For coins of similar type reverse see Nos. 207-213.

TYPE 3.

Obv. Crowned bust to the right holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

Rev. Over a cross fleury a quadrilateral fleury with concave sides; in each angle of cross, a pellet. Inscription around between two beaded circles. Very similar to the last type of Henry I.

GLOUCESTER MINT

247. *O.* + h[EN]RICVS*R.* + R[o]BERT :[ON:]GLOE:

This coin is included on the evidence of W. J. Andrew's Ms. in the British Museum, but its whereabouts at the moment cannot be traced.

HEREFORD MINT

248. *O.* + HENRICVS REX*R.* + SIBERN:ON:HEREFOR

* Mack ex Grantley 1320, Carlyon-Britton 1502

18.2 g.

249. *O.* + HENRICVS[*R.* + []IC:ON:HER

* ex Lockett 1174, Dawnay, 36, Rostron 37, Bergne

¹ NC, 1922, p. 83, no. 338.

UNCERTAIN MINTS

250. O. + HENRICVS

R. + [WIL]LEMON:CRST (s sideways)

- * ex Lockett 1175, Roth I 110, Montagu II 291, Webb 17, Neck, Whitbourn 145,
Murchison 27, Dymock 184, Hollis.

The crown is square topped without ornaments. Inscription begins to right of sceptre and is not divided by bust.

It is quite possible, indeed probable, that the mint reading stands for Cirencester.

Cirencester was in all probability an important Angevin stronghold at this time. The Empress Matilda went there from Gloucester after the battle of Lincoln, arriving there on February 13th 1141 and carried on negotiations with Henry, Bishop of Winchester, prior to her being proclaimed Queen. In 1142 a council of the leaders of the Angevin party was held here. Later in 1142 a fortified post at Cirencester was captured by Stephen, but it seems doubtful if it remained in his hands after his defeat at Wilton in 1143.

See also William of Gloucester, No. 263 by same moneyer and with similar mint reading.

251. O. [+ h]ENRICVS

R. + ON:CAO[]:

- * BMC 277, ex B. C. Roberts From the Winterslow find 12.4 g.

252. O.]N[

R.]ELFRE[]A:

- * BMC 278, ex B. C. Roberts From the Winterslow find 16.5 g.

There is an ornament between face and sceptre.

253. O. + HENRICVS REX

R. Illegible

- * (a) BMC 279, ex B. C. Roberts From the Winterslow find (Chipped) 16.5 g.
* (b) Ballingal ex Grantley 1319, Drabble 738, Ready 252 15.7 g.
* (c) Mack ex Ryan 939, Wheeler 194, Roth II 157 17.2 g.
(d) ex Reynolds¹

In a and b, which are from the same pair of dies, the inscription commences near fleur of sceptre and continues unbroken round head between two beaded circles. They have a broad double diadem in place of crown.

Some or all may be Hereford mint and c could well be from the same dies as no. 248 above.

TYPE 4.²

Obv. Crowned bust to the right holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

Rev. Cross-crosslet in quatrefoil, three pellets in each angle. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

GLOUCESTER MINT

254. O. HENRICVS

R. + WIL[LEM]ON:GLOE:

- * B.M. Found at Dorchester, Dorset (by O. Vidler) 14.8 g.

¹ BMC, p. cxxii.

² BNJ, xxv, p. 228.

TYPE 5.

Obv. Facing bust, crowned, between two stars. Around, inscription between beaded outer and plain inner circles.

Rev. Cross bottonnée over quadrilateral with concave sides, each angle terminating in a pellet and enclosing a pellet. Annulet in centre. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

BRISTOL MINT

255. *O.* + HENRICVS

R. + AREFIN:ONBRI (the N reversed)

No pellets in angles of reverse.

* (a) BMC 280, ex Sir J. Twisden 16.6 g.

* (b) Copenhagen Museum

* (c) ex Lockett 2974, Reynolds 90, Murdoch 217 15.5 g.

All from the same reverse die.

SHERBORNE MINT

256. *O.* + HENRICVS:RE: (the N reversed)

R. ÷ ON:SI[]YRNI (the N reversed)

* BMC 281, ex B. C. Roberts From the Winterslow find 16.1 g.

UNCERTAIN MINTS

257. *O.* + DININCV[]N (the c reversed)

R. + ADAM:ONWIVELOC (the A's unbarred)

No annulet in centre of reverse.

* BMC 282, ex Webster, Cuff 745 16.0 g.

This coin has been attributed to Wiveliscombe in Somerset¹ and this is possible but a more likely attribution is to Ilchester. Coins were probably struck at Ilchester in Type 7.²

258. *O.* + PNOV[]EMOI

R. NIVOVNIN[]OHIN

* BMC 283, ex Long 12 14.4 g.

Perhaps a contemporary forgery.

TYPE 6.

Obv. Facing bust, crowned, between two stars, similar to Type 5. Inscription around between two circles, the outer one beaded.

Rev. Cross bottonnée over quadrilateral with concave sides, similar to Type 5 but the cross is voided. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

MALMESBURY MINT

259. *O.* :DIINIXHIM[]LN (the N reversed)

An annulet enclosing pellet above each star.

R. + WALTERIS:ON:

* Ballingal, ex Lockett 1176, Carlyon-Britton 1505, Rashleigh 626 16.0 g.

Although there is no mint reading, Walteris coined at Malmesbury in Type 1 (No. 244 above) so the attribution of this coin to Malmesbury and to Henry of Anjou seems reasonable, but doubt must always remain.

¹ BMC, p. 394; NC, 1851, p. 190; BNJ, xxv, p. 229. ² See no. 113.

UNCERTAIN MINTS

260. O.]NE[

R. + []DEV[]AI (A unbarred). The reading is not certain.

* Mack ex Lockett 1177, Grantley 1318, Rashleigh 627, Cuff 746

15.4 g.

The reverse inscription of this coin is very difficult to read. In the past it has been assigned to *Devizes*¹ but this now seems unlikely. The early spelling always gives the first two letters of the place name as *DI* not *DE*. *DE-* is first recorded in 1195, although the name goes back to the old French *Devise(s)*. The form *VISES* is not used until the fourteenth century.²

261. O. + HEN[

R. + ELF[]:A

* BMC 284, ex B. C. Roberts

From the Winterslow find. Cut half-penny 7.4 g.

WILLIAM OF GLOUCESTER³

William was the eldest son of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and inherited his father's titles when the latter died in October 1147. Very little is known about him but he probably became leader of the Angevin party in England after Robert's death and as such, in the absence of Henry of Anjou in Normandy, may have struck coins at about this time. The types of the coins fit in with this period, they are all similar to those issued by Henry of Anjou, the same mint names also occurring. This being so, their attribution to William de Mohun, Earl of Dorset and Somerset, which is an alternative suggestion, seems unlikely as we know this baron deserted the Empress Matilda before the end of 1143. Nevertheless we cannot be absolutely certain that these coins do belong to William of Gloucester. Two were from the Winterslow find in company with coins of Stephen and Henry of Anjou. The weight of the William coins is very low. On one coin of type 2 some attempt seems to have been made to express a title but the reading is very doubtful.

MINTS: Dorchester,

Warcham,

Uncertain

TYPE 1.

Obv. Crowned bust to the right holding sceptre. The crown is square topped very similar to Henry of Anjou Type 3, No. 250. Inscription around between two beaded circles begins to right of sceptre.

Rev. Quadrilateral over cross fleury with pellet in each angle, similar to the last type of Henry I and Henry of Anjou Type 3. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

UNCERTAIN MINT

262. O. [+ WIL]LELM (M rounded)

R.]LEL[

* Mack ex Ryan 943, Grantley 1322, Reynolds 91

14.0 g.

TYPE 2.

Obv. Facing bust, crowned, between two stars. Around, inscription between beaded outer and plain inner circles.

Rev. Cross bottonnée over quadrilateral with concave sides, each angle terminating in a pellet and enclosing a pellet.

Inscription around between two beaded circles.

¹ Rashleigh sale, lot 627, Grantley iv, lot 1318; Name Society, xvi, pp. 242-3.
BNJ, xvi, p. 75.

³ *BNJ*, xxv, p. 229.

² *The Place-Names of Wiltshire*, English Place-

UNCERTAIN MINT

263. O. + LVILL·ENDV·O· (the N reversed)

Two rows of pellets take the place of the crown.

R. + WILLEMON:CRST

* ex Ryan 940, Reynolds 92, Murdoch 264,

Montagu II 360, Brice, Wigan, Jones-Long From the Winterslow find¹

15.0 g.

Probably struck at Cirencester. See Henry of Anjou No. 250 with same moneyer and reading.

TYPE 3.

Obv. Facing bust, crowned, between two stars, similar to Type 2 and Henry of Anjou Type 5. Inscription around between beaded outer and plain inner circles.*Rev.* Cross botonnée over quadrilateral with concave sides, the cross voided similar to Henry of Anjou Type 6. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

DORCHESTER MINT

264. O. + WILLELMVS (M rounded, S reversed)

R. + S[]AND ON DOB (A unbarred)

* Mack ex Ryan 942, Carlyon-Britton 1074

15.6 g.

WAREHAM MINT

265. O. + WILLELMVS (M rounded, S sideways)

R. + ROGIER:DE WAR

* (a) ex Ryan 941, Carlyon-Britton 1504²

15.0 g.

* (b) Ballingal ex Grantley 1321, Reynolds 93, Lawrence

14.5 g.

a and b are from the same pair of dies.

UNCERTAIN MINTS

266. O. + WILLELMVS: (M rounded, S sideways)

R. + VN[]ON·WIS (the S sideways)

* BMC 285, ex B. C. Roberts

From the Winterslow find

(Broken) 15.4 g.

The place of mintage of this coin is quite uncertain.

267. O. + WILLELMVS: (M rounded, S sideways)

R.]AS·ON·[(A unbarred, S sideways, N reverse)

BMC 286

16.0 g.

From same obverse die as No. 266 above. Provenance not known

268. O. + WILE[(the E retrograde)

R. Uncertain

* ex Drabble 729

Found at Stalbridge, Dorset

UNCERTAIN BARONIAL COINS.

The attribution of the following baronial coins must, for the time being, remain open to doubt.

1. Coins inscribed ROBERT.

The obverse reads Robert but the reverse legend is quite uncertain, possibly []ERE for mint, but whether this stands for Hereford, Leicester, or some other place it is impossible to say. This could be an issue struck by Robert, earl of Gloucester. The type being similar to

¹ See Hawkins *Silver coins of England*, 3rd edition (1887) p. 185.

² See Samuel Page in *NC* 3, ix, p. 344, on the attribution of this coin to William, the second son of Stephen.

Stephen Type 2 makes this possible, but there is no reason to suppose that Robert issued coins other than in the name of the Empress Matilda or her son Henry. The Empress did not leave England until after his death in 1147. Robert was a fairly common name of the period and the coins may belong to some other baron of the times, possibly Robert, earl of Leicester, if the mint reading is LERE.

UNCERTAIN MINT

Obv. Crowned, bust three-quarters to the left, holding sceptre in right hand, very similar to Stephen Type 2. Inscription around. There is an outer beaded circle.

Rev. Plain cross voided, annulet in centre and mullet of six points in each angle, very similar to Stephen Type 2. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

269. O.]ROBERTV[

R.]VND:ON:[]ERE?

* (a) ex Roth¹

16.4 g.

* (b) B.M. ex Lockett 1178, Roth (not in sale)

Cut half-penny 6.8 g.

2. Coin with obverse reading BR:CIT.

The following coin has been doubtfully attributed to Brian Fitzcount, the son of Alan Fergant, a Breton count who had seen much service under Henry I. He was one of the barons who attended Stephen's first ceremonial court at Westminster in 1136 but later, in 1139, no doubt because of his father's connection with the court of Henry I, declared for the Empress Matilda and remained one of her most faithful adherents throughout the civil war. In fact he is described as being her inseparable companion. He was the holder of Wallingford castle, the stronghold on the eastern boundary of Angevin territory. He was with the Empress at London in the summer of 1141 and from there went with her to Oxford in July 1141 and then on to the siege of Winchester. When the Empress fled from Winchester in September 1141, under pressure from Queen Matilda and William of Ypres, he escorted her to Bristol via Devizes and remained with her for some time in Bristol² before going back to Oxford. At Christmas 1142 the Empress took refuge in the castle at Wallingford having been forced to flee from Oxford under cover of darkness. Brian Fitzcount was besieged by Stephen at Wallingford castle in 1146 and again in 1153. It was during this second siege that he sent word to Henry of Anjou in Normandy asking for assistance. Henry landed in January 1153 with about three thousand men and, after defeating Stephen at Malmesbury, relieved Brian Fitzcount at Wallingford castle.

At the present time only one coin is known which could be attributed to Brian Fitzcount. It is similar in type to Henry of Anjou Type 5 and William of Gloucester Type 2 and would have been struck in about 1146-9, perhaps during the first siege of Wallingford. The alternative suggestion that the coin is an issue of Baldwin de Redvers³ is unlikely as little is heard of this baron after the siege of Winchester in 1141 and had he struck coins at all he would presumably have adopted the profile type and not full face. The obverse reading, which is doubtful, seems to favour Brian Comititis, but the reverse legend, unless it is a jumbled repetition of the obverse, is quite uncertain.⁴

¹ BMC, p. cxxix, but not in sale.

² Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 137.

³ *NO* 3, ix, p. 345.

⁴ See also *Numismatic Circular*, Dec. 1914.

- Obv.* Facing bust crowned between two stars, very similar to Henry of Anjou Type 5. Inscription around between two beaded circles.
- Rev.* Quadrilateral over cross bottonnée each angle terminating in a pellet. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

UNCERTAIN MINT.

270. *O.* † D-R-G-I-T[*R.* † BRIT[]-TO:

* ex Lockett 1179, Carlyon-Britton 1506

15.9 g.

3. *Uncertain Baronial.*

The following two coins have been attributed to Patrick, earl of Salisbury,¹ but this cannot be accepted with certainty. One comes from the Winterslow find of 1804, the other was found in 1884 by workmen excavating for the foundations of the bell-tower of East Tytherley church, Wiltshire. It is interesting to note that East Tytherley is only four miles from the site of the Winterslow find.

- Obv.* Bust to the right in armour wearing helmet and holding sword in right hand, large star behind head. Around, inscription divided by bust within beaded outer circle.
- Rev.* Cross fleury over quadrilateral with concave sides, fleur-de-lis at each angle. Around, inscription between two beaded circles.

UNCERTAIN MINT BUT POSSIBLY SALISBURY

271. *O.* [COM] (M rounded)*R.* S[]ON:SA (S sideways)* (a) *BMC* 292, ex Vidal 33, Dimsdale 228. From the Winterslow find (Chipped) 15.8 g.

* (b) ex Lockett 1180, Grantley 1323, Rev. S. Bourdillon. Found at East Tytherley, Wilts.

4. *Uncertain Baronial.*

Little can be said about the following coin except that it was issued by authority of or on behalf of some bishop.

- Obv.* Bust to right, holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around divided by bust within beaded circle.
- Rev.* Cross pattée, annulet enclosing pellet in each angle. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

UNCERTAIN MINT

272. *O.* [NEPL: † (L inverted)*R.* † WLEMON[* *BMC* 294, ex B. C. Roberts

From the Winterslow find

16.0 g.

IRREGULAR COINS AFTER c.1141.

The following coins which probably represent local varieties or coins struck locally by barons in support of the King were in all probability in circulation sometime between 1141, or when Type 1 was superseded by Type 2, and the time that hostilities ceased in 1153.

A. *Obv.* Crowned bust facing, very similar to Type 3.

Rev. Cross voided over quadrilateral, each angle terminating in an annulet.

¹ *NC*, 1914, p. 632; *BNJ*, xvi, p. 73.

UNCERTAIN MINT

273. O. + STI[

R. Unintelligible

* ex Ryan 944, Lawrence

B. *Obv.* Crowned bust facing holding sceptre, a star in the field to the right.*Rev.* Cross pattée, annulet enclosing pellet in each angle.

UNCERTAIN MINT

274. O. + TSEFN

R. + ALFRD ON TOM;

* BMC 293, ex Manning

15.2 g.

An Alfred coined money at Taunton in Type 1¹ and possibly at Tamworth in Type 7², so this coin could belong to either of these mints. The lettering is small, so the coin is probably not very late.

C. *Obv.* Large facing bearded head, the face being unusually large so as to fill the whole field.*Rev.* Similar to Henry I Type 15.

UNCERTAIN MINT

275. O. + ST[

R. + ALF[]MMORT

* Northampton Museum. Found at Corby

15.9 g.

The fourth letter of the moneyers name may be R or P. The coin was found at Shire Lodge Farm, Corby in 1955 and is now in the Northampton Museum. The find spot suggests a blundered form of ON NORT (Northampton) for the mint reading³. As the King is shown wearing a beard the coin cannot have been issued very early in the reign, the only coins showing the King with a beard being Type 7. However, the reverse is exactly similar to the last type of the previous reign except that there are no colon stops.

SCOTTISH BORDER COINS

THE MINT AT CARLISLE.

Profitable silver mines were discovered near Carlisle in about 1132 and a mint was established here at about the same time, striking coins in the last two types of Henry I and the first type of Stephen. In January 1136 David I of Scotland, who was the Empress Matilda's uncle, crossed over the Tweed and captured much of Cumberland and Northumberland. At the resultant peace treaty David retained Carlisle and it seems probable that from here he struck the coins of Stephen Type 1, in Stephen's name, bearing the Carlisle mint signature. Simultaneously or subsequently he issued coins of the same type in his own name with the EDNEBVR mint signature. These coins may have been actually struck at Carlisle but the mint represented must be Edinburgh where perhaps they were issued. The Stephen 'Eden' coin,⁴

¹ No. 36 above.² No. 133 above.³ *BNJ*, xxviii, p. 195.⁴ *BNJ*, xviii, p. 325-6.

no. 281, must result from a mixing of the dies. Later, whilst Carlisle was still in his hands and the silver mines still active, David issued coins of different type and no doubt discontinued the issues in Stephen's name.¹

DAVID I/STEPHEN GROUP

Obv. Similar to Stephen Type 1, inner circle omitted.

Rev. Similar to Stephen Type 1.

CARLISLE MINT

276. *O.* : + ISTIEN

R. + WILLEM:ON:CA[

- | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|---------|
| * (a) B.M. | From the South Kyme find | 18.9 g. |
| (b) B.M. | From the South Kyme find | 18.5 g. |

a and *b* are from the same pair of dies. They are of very rough work.

277. *O.* + STIEFNE R

R. + WILBALME ON CARD:

- * Stewart ex Lockett 1092, Bruun 225, Roth I 118, Rashleigh 494. From the Watford find
Similar coins exist from same dies.

278. *O.* ST + IEFN REX

R. + WILLEM:ON:[CARD:]

- * ex Drabble 727

This coin has three annulets in front of the crown. The mint reading is not clear.

279. *O.* + STIFNE REX

R. + EREBALD:ON CARD:

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------|
| * BMC 17, ex Rashleigh 496 | From the Watford find | 23.2 g. |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------|

Similar coins exist with slightly varied readings; one (B.M.C. 18) has moneyer's name + h[

280.² *O.* + DAVID REX

R. + EREBALD:ON EDEN

- * ex Lockett V 11, Bearman, Rashleigh 1090, Cliff 763

Similar coins exist, some (e.g. Burns fig. 24) with the fuller mint signature EDENEVR.

281.³ *O.* + STIFNE REX:

R. + EREBALD:ON EDEN:

- | | | |
|---------------------|--|---------|
| * B.M. ex Lawrence. | | 20.7 g. |
|---------------------|--|---------|

Nos. 280 and 281 above perhaps struck at Carlisle but may have been issued in Edinburgh.

282.⁴ *O.* + STIFNE REX:

R. [+O]DARD:ON[CARD:]

- | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------|
| * Chatsworth | From the Sheldon find | 18.0 g. |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------|

From the same obverse die as No. 281 above. The mint most probably Carlisle.

HENRY OF NORTHUMBERLAND⁵

Henry was the only son of King David I of Scotland. When David advanced over the Tweed to Durham in 1136, at the resulting peace treaty he obtained for his son Henry the earldom of Huntingdon with Carlisle and Durham. After this Henry lived at the court of King Stephen in London for a time but was recalled to Scotland by his father after an incident

¹ *BNJ*, xxix, p. 293-6.

⁴ *BNJ*, vii, p. 57.

² Burns, p. 23 and fig. 24d.

⁵ *BMC*, pp. c. ff.

³ *BNJ*, xviii, p. 325.

with the earl of Chester involving etiquette. In 1138 Henry was present with his father at the battle of the Standard which resulted in David's defeat and retreat to Carlisle where Henry, who had been cut off during the fighting, joined him later. At the subsequent peace treaty at Durham in 1139 Henry was made earl of Northumberland and undertook, with David, to take no further part in the civil war. Apart from being present at the knighting of Henry of Anjou at Carlisle in 1149 little more is heard of him. He died in 1153.

There is little doubt that earl Henry struck coins in Northumberland. The coin from the Bute find inscribed HENRICVS¹ and the other Corbridge coin which reads HENRICVS F[ILIVS] RE[GIS]² are sufficient evidence of this. Both these coins were probably struck shortly after 1136 and before he was created earl of Northumberland. Other coins which may be attributed to earl Henry are the extremely rare coins from the Carlisle mint with cross fleury reverse (Stewart Type 2) and the crosslet type (Stewart Type 3) many of which were found at Outchester near Belford in Northumberland in company with coins of the first type of Henry II whose reverse design of cross-crosslet they closely resemble. This has led to the suggestion that the earl Henry coins are of much later date³ and were struck about the year 1170 by Henry the young King, the coin bearing Stephen's name being struck from an old Stephen die, but it is much more likely that the issue belongs to earl Henry and they are included as such in this work. The probable explanation of Stephen's name appearing on two of the coins is that the issue began in Stephen's name, probably after Henry had been created earl of Northumberland in 1139, and that later he replaced the King's name by his own.

The mint reading on these coins could stand for CASTRI BAEMBURGI for Bamburgh castle in Northumberland.⁴ Under the terms of the peace treaty of 1139, Stephen retained the castles of Bamburgh and Newcastle. It seems unlikely that Henry of Northumberland would strike coins at Bamburgh but on the other hand Stephen may only have kept the castles in order to obtain the revenue accruing therefrom whilst allowing Henry to use them for the security of his earldom. Two charters are in existence which were granted by Henry of Northumberland, one at Newcastle to the Church at Durham and the other at Bamburgh to the monks of Tynemouth, so he may well have struck coins here.

MINTS (3): Carlisle
Corbridge
? Bamburgh Castle.

TYPE 1 (STEWART TYPE 1)

Obv. Crowned bust to the right holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen Type 1 but of rather crude style and no inner circle. Inscription around.

Rev. Similar to Stephen Type 1 but of crude style. Inscription between two beaded circles.

CORBRIDGE MINT

283.⁵ O. + HENRICVS

R. + ERE[BALD]:[ON C]OLEB:

* Edinburgh ex Richardson 13

From the Bute find

20.3 g.

284. O. + HENRIC F RE

R. + EREBALD:ON COREB:

* B.M. ex Macdonald

19.0 g.

¹ No. 283.

² No. 284.

³ D. F. Allen, *Catalogue of the English Coins in the British Museum, The Cross and Crosslet Type*

of Henry II. Note to p. i.

⁴ G. C. Askew in *NC*, 1940, p. 51.

⁵ Burns, fig. 24a.

285.¹ *O.* :NENCCN*R.* + AREB[ALD O]NC

* (a) Edinburgh ex Coats Collection.

19.8 g.

(b) Edinburgh ex Coats Collection.

17.1 g.

a and *b* are from the same pair of dies. The reverse reading is not absolutely certain.

TYPE 2 (STEWART TYPE 2)

Obv. Crowned bust to the right, holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around between two beaded circles.*Rev.* Cross fleury. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

CARLISLE MINT

286. *O.* + N:ENCI:CON (the first N reversed)*R.* + WILLEN:ON:CARDI:C

* Oxford ex Ryan 949, Walters

17.8 g.

287. *O.* Uncertain*R.* Uncertain but possibly [WIL]ELON CA* (a) Edinburgh² ex Richardson 17

20.0 g.

* (b) Edinburgh ex Lockett V 16, Carriek. Carlyon-Britton 1503

Found at Brough-under-Stainmore, Westmorland 17.8 g.

(c) Found Blagill silver mine, 1865³

(Fragment)

TYPE 3 (STEWART TYPE 3)

Obv. Crowned bust to the right, holding sceptre, very similar to Stephen Type 1. Inscription around.*Rev.* Cross-crosslet, in each angle a cross pattée pendent from a crescent which hangs on the inner circle. Inscription around between two beaded circles.

BAMBURGH MINT(?)

288. *O.* + STIFENE RE (the R with two downward strokes)⁴*R.* + :WI:L:ELM:ON:OBCI (the N reversed)

* (a) ex Ryan 929, Rashleigh 613, Martin 69

19.3 g.

* (b) Ballingal ex Lockett 1159, Reynolds 80, Lawrence

21.0 g.

a and *b* are from the same pair of dies.289. *O.* + N:ENCI:CON or + NENCI:CON (first two N's in each case reversed)*R.* + :WILEL:M:ONCI:B (the N reversed). There are several slight variants.

(a) BMC 287, ex Sewening

22.8 g.

(b) BMC 288

(Pierced)

23.0 g.

(c) BMC 289,⁵ ex J. Dyer

(Clipped)

17.6 g.

(d) BMC 290, ex J. Dyer

(Broken)

15.6 g.

(e) BMC 291

(Clipped)

14.8 g.

* (f) Ballingal ex Drabble 728, Walters

(Clipped)

19.2 g.

* (g) Oxford ex Marshall 88, Grantley 1311. Found near Blyth, Northumberland. (Clipped).

* (h) ex Wheeler 193, Reynolds 79

22.6 g.

* (j) ex Lockett V 15, Rashleigh 1093, Martin 415

22.4 g.

¹ Burns, fig. 25.² Burns, fig. 26a; NC², iv, p. 26.³ Burns, p. 31.⁴ See nos. 188-190 above.⁵ Nos 289c and 289d are probably from the Outchester hoard. See D. F. Allen, *The Cross-and-Crosslets Type of Henry II.* p. li.

(k)	Stewart ex R. Carlyon-Britton, Thorburn, Bruun 239	(Pierced and plugged)	
* (l)	ex Rashleigh 1092, Martin 414		21.9 g.
* (m)	ex Ryan 948		
(n)	ex Roth II 327, Longstaffe 340		
(o)	Mack ex Youde	(Clipped)	14.2 g.
* (p)	Hanham ex Drabble 1002		
(q)	Edinburgh ex Coats Collection		19.9 g.
(r)	Edinburgh ex Richardson 8.		21.3 g.
(s)	Longstaffe ¹		
(t)	Blair	Found at Morpeth ²	
(u)	ex Murdoch 4, Pollexfen, Murchison ³	(Plugged)	
(v)	Edinburgh, ex Thorburn, R. Carlyon-Britton	Found at Dunwich	Cut farthing
(w)	Pakenham ⁴		
(x)	Stavanger Museum. Found at an unspecified date at Naerba, Norway ⁵		

VARIETIES OF TYPE 7, POSSIBLY OF NORTHERN ORIGIN

Obv. Similar to Type 7 but of coarse work and sceptre over King's left shoulder.

Rev. Similar to Type 7 but of coarse work.

UNCERTAIN MINT

290. O. [INI] [IN: (the second N reversed)

R. + :EN[]MO[]I

* BMC 225 23.1 g.

There are three coins of this variety in the B.M.⁶. Average weight between 21 and 23 grains. The style is suggestive of north country origin. One coin was in the Awbridge find of 1902.

Obv. and *Rev.* similar to Type 7 but of coarse work.

UNCERTAIN MINT

291. O. STEF[

R. Uncertain

* (a) B.M. ex Drabble 719 (holed)
(b) ex Lockett

The reverse inscription of these coins has been read as [h]ENRIC[.]D[E]CA[RD]⁷ and the coins assigned to the Carlisle mint but this is doubtful. However the style is suggestive of north country origin. They are apparently die duplicates.

COIN HOARDS

Finds of coins of this period are fairly numerous and we are fortunate in having such large and important hoards as the Watford, Nottingham, Awbridge and others which connect up the types and give a definite clue to their order. Apart from mules, very few of which are in existence, it is only through hoards that this can be satisfactorily done. In the following pages the finds are described more or less in detail but much valuable information on the

¹ Burns, fig. 23A.

² Burns, p. 36-38.

³ Burns, p. 38.

⁴ This appears to read— O. + NEN:CON
R. + :WILEL:M:ONTC:E(or N) (the N reversed)

⁵ Stavanger Museum *Arbok* 1964, pp. 72-73.

⁶ BMC, 224-226 and footnote.

⁷ *BNJ*, xxviii, p. 553, and Drabble sale catalogue, p. 74.

older hoards has been lost and in such finds as at Catal in Yorkshire we have to be content with descriptions such as 'a few silver coins'. In many of the older hoards the number of coins described does not tally with the number supposed to have been found. It is always possible that some of the coins were melted down for their silver value.

CATAL, YORKS. (1684)¹

	<i>Pennies</i>
Stephen, two figure type of York	1
Eustace FitzJohn, Lion type of York	1
Robert de Stuteville, horseman type of York	1
Stephen (type not known)	1
	<hr/> 4

No details of this find are known. Catal is near Wetherby in Yorkshire.

ASHBY WOULDs, LEICESTER (1788)²

Stephen period about 450 coins.

About sixty of the coins were cut halfpennies and about a dozen cut farthings. They were nearly all of Stephen but some were of Henry I and possibly of Henry II and Henry III as well but this seems doubtful. The only type described is Stephen martlet type of which there were 3 coins and a cut halfpenny.

The coins were found on a common called the Woulds in the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch at a place called Millstone Gutter. They were contained in a small leaden box of oblong shape which fell to pieces when moved. Most of the coins seem to have passed into the possession of Lord Moira who owned the property on which they were found.

WINTERSLOW, WILTS. (c. 1804).³

	<i>Pennies</i>	<i>Cut Halfpennies</i>
Stephen type 1	1	
Stephen type 2	2	3
Stephen type 3	1	
Stephen irregular (182)	1	
Stephen Flag type of York	1	
Henry of Anjou type 2	1	
Henry of Anjou type 3	3	
Henry of Anjou type 5	1	
Henry of Anjou type 6		1
William of Gloucester type 2	1	
William of Gloucester type 3	1	
Patrick, Earl of Salisbury (probable)	1	
Uncertain Bishop	1	
	<hr/> 15	<hr/> 4

This hoard was found in a chalk pit at Winterslow, near Salisbury. B. C. Roberts seems to have acquired a number of the coins and in 1810 the British Museum acquired 14 coins from this hoard, mostly from the Roberts collection.

¹ Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, pp. 350, 351; *Proc. of Yorkshire Philosophical Soc.* 1856, p. 216, Thompson 80.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1796, pp. 843 and 983

and plate opposite p. 841. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1797, p. 37.

³ *BMC*, p. xxx; *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxiv (1804), p. 15. Thompson 378.

WATFORD, HERTS. (April, 1818)¹

	<i>Pennies</i>	<i>Cut Halfpennies</i>
William I type 5		1
Henry I type 14	58	
Henry I type 15	398	21
Stephen type 1	632	11
Stephen type 1 with obverse inscription PERERIC	2	
Empress Matilda	1	
Uncertain	3	
	<hr/> 1,094	<hr/> 33

Some labourers were digging in a field near Watford, Herts., when they turned up about a dozen small silver coins. Further search was then made to see if there were any more in the vicinity and at almost the first dig the spade broke into a hollow space which turned out to be an earthenware jar containing a great number of coins. The jar was said to be buried about 10 to 12 inches below the surface. It was broken by the spade but was about 5 inches high with a diameter of 5½ inches. The top, if it had one, was missing. The hoard was preserved intact and eventually came into the possession of Jonathan Rashleigh. Many of the coins were purchased by the British Museum at the Rashleigh sale in 1909.

SMALLER WATFORD, HERTS., FIND, April 1818²

	<i>Pennies</i>
Henry I type 14	1
Henry I type 15	1
Stephen Type 1	1
Stephen irregular (176)	1
	<hr/> 4

Labourers who were hoeing a field of beans near the site of the ancient manor-house of Oxley Place in the parish of Watford, Herts., came across about a hundred silver coins lying scattered about on the surface of the ground together with a fragment of an earthenware jar in which they had presumably been buried. Only 39 were recovered out of which the above 4 were described. Whether this find was originally part of the larger Watford find it is impossible to say. We do not even know if both finds were in the same field, though both occurred near Watford in 1818. It is quite possible that they were two separate hoards buried at the same time by two neighbours for the same reason.

DARTFORD, KENT, 1825³

	<i>Pennies</i>
Henry I type 15	4
Stephen type 1	44
Stephen type 1 with erased obverse die	1
Stephen irregular (169, 172, 173)	3
Empress Matilda	5
David I of Scotland	1
	<hr/> 58

¹ *BMC*, p. xxvi; *NC* 1850, pp. 138 ff.; Thompson, Thompson 373.

372; *NC* 1850, pp. 165 ff.

² *Archaeologia*, vol. xxi, p. 539; *BMC*, p. xxvi; 116.

³ *BMC*, p. xxviii; *NC* 1851, p. 186. Thompson

No details are known about the finding of this hoard which is supposed to have contained about 65 pennies. The hoard, soon after its discovery, was acquired by Mr. Taylor, grandfather of C. R. Taylor the London coin dealer and many of the coins were bought by Rashleigh. Others were still being sold by Mr. Taylor in the middle of last century.

CROSTHWAITE, CUMB. 1841¹

	<i>Pennies</i>
Stephen type? contemporary forgery?	1

No details except 'some old coins of silver' including 'a leaden coin of Stephen' were found while restoring the church at Crosthwaite.

LONDON BRIDGE c. 1850²

'A few rare types of Stephen' amongst a quantity of coins of Henry II included:—

	<i>Cut Halfpenny</i>
Stephen type 3	1

No details of this find, which is supposed to have contained mostly coins of Henry II, are available. Rashleigh procured some of them (see lots 636-7 in his sale).

BUTE 1863³

	<i>Pennies</i>
Stephen type 1	3
David I of Scotland	14
Earl Henry of Northumberland	1
Uncertain, type as Stephen type 1	9
	<hr/> 27

On 7th June, 1863, some workmen were employed quarrying stone and building a wall on the moor on the south side of the island of Bute about 300 yards from the ruins of the ancient chapel of St. Blane. One of the workmen had occasion to remove a large stone with his pick over the side of the wall and, on moving some of the soil which was underneath the stone, discovered 27 silver coins, 2 gold rings (one twisted), 3 gold bands and a small bar of silver. These are all now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh.

SHELDON, DERBY 1867⁴

	<i>Pennies</i>	<i>Cut Halfpennies</i>
Henry I type 15	3	
Stephen type 1	73	3
Stephen, mule 1/2	1	1
Stephen type 2 contemporary forgeries	2	
Stephen type 1 with erased obverse die	11	3
Stephen type 1 with obverse inscription PERERIC	1	
Stephen irregular (170,186)	2	
David I of Scotland	2	
	<hr/> 95	<hr/> 7

¹ Thompson 108.

² Thompson 246.

³ *BMC*, p. xxx; *NO* 1863, p. 216, 1865, p. 57.

Thompson 63.

⁴ *BMC*, p. xxviii; *BNJ*, vol. vii, p. 27. Thompson

This hoard was discovered when a hole was dug for a stone gate-post when alterations were being made to the boundary wall of the burial ground of the old chapel at Sheldon. The coins were contained in a circular leaden dish about six or eight inches in diameter and were handed over intact to the Duke of Devonshire's agent at Chatsworth on whose property they were found. They are still preserved intact at Chatsworth.

NOTTINGHAM, NOTTS. 1880¹

	<i>Pennies</i>
Henry I type 1	1
Henry I type 10	1
Henry I type 15	at least 7
Stephen type 1	upwards of 150
Stephen type 1 with erased obverse die	at least 37+
Stephen type 1 with obverse inscription PERERIC	1
Stephen irregular (160-204)	at least 19
Henry of Anjou	1
Empress Matilda	probably 5

Perhaps more than 300 originally.

In January, 1880, some workmen who were excavating at the back of an old property in Bridlesmith Gate, Nottingham, for larger cellaring in connection with bonded stores, came across a heap of silver pennies of the reigns of Henry I and Stephen. Many of the coins were dispersed but some eventually reached the British Museum and many are in the Museum at Nottingham Castle. Others were in the Toplis collection in 1880. Coins from the Nottingham find may be recognised by the fact that they have been at some time subjected to intense heat and in consequence many are blistered and bent. Nottingham was sacked by Robert of Gloucester in September, 1141, and burnt to the ground. It is possible this hoard was deposited just before this date and suffered accordingly.

LATTON, WILTS. 1882²

	<i>Pennies</i>
Stephen period	upwards of 60

Three coins of Stephen Type 1 from this locality are in the Devizes Museum. The rest of the hoard has been dispersed. The coins seem to have been found at different times between 1860 and 1882, though the majority were dug up in Latton churchyard in 1882.

LINTON, MAIDSTONE, KENT 1883³

	<i>Pennies</i>	<i>Cut Halfpennies</i>	<i>Cut Farthings</i>
Henry I type 15	6	1	
Stephen type 1	32	4	4
Stephen mule types 1/2		1	
Stephen type 2	24	13	1
Stephen type 1 with obverse inscription PERERIC	2		
Stephen ⁴ irregular by moneyer SANSON	4	2	—
	68	21	5

¹ *BMC*, p. xxvii; *NC* 1881, p. 36. Thompson 295.

² *BNJ*, vol. vi, p. 187. Thompson 230.

³ *BMC*, p. xxix; *NC* 1883, p. 108. Thompson 235.

⁴ W. J. Andrew. See *BMC*, p. xcii.

In February 1883 while trenching a piece of waste land in the parish of Linton, about 3 miles from Maidstone, some labourers struck a small earthenware vessel which was about 15 inches beneath the surface. The jar was broken with the impact and disclosed about 180 coins of Henry I and Stephen. Of these, about 100 came into the possession of a Mr. G. Wakeford, the remainder being given to a local inhabitant.

AWBRIDGE, Hants., 1902¹

	<i>Pennies</i>
Stephen irregular by moneyer SANSON	3
Stephen type 7	31
Henry II cross-crosslets type	104
	<hr/> 138

A farmhouse garden in the parish of Awbridge, near Romsey in Hampshire, was being enlarged and in the removal of a laurel hedge there were discovered, about 2½ feet beneath the surface and all close together as if they had been in a bag which had rotted away, about 180 silver coins. The finder thought little of his discovery and from time to time disposed of about 50 to his friends and acquaintances for sixpence to a shilling each, selecting the better preserved specimens. Eventually Mr. Dietz, of Braishfield Lodge, Romsey, mentioned the find to Mr. H. A. Grueber, the then Assistant Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, and the remainder of the hoard was sent to the British Museum for examination. These consisted of 34 coins of Stephen and 104 of Henry II, mostly in poor condition.

OUTCHESTER, NORTHUMBERLAND, 1817²

	<i>Pennies</i>
Henry II Cross-Crosslets	19
Henry of Northumberland	2
David I of Scotland	9
Uncertain Scottish	1
	<hr/> 31

These coins were found at Outchester which is about 2½ miles south-east of Belford in Northumberland. It is believed the hoard originally consisted of about 1,000 English and Scottish silver coins but the greater part of the hoard was claimed by Greenwich hospital which owned the land on which it was found and the coins cannot now be traced. The coins listed above were given to the British Museum.³

SOUTH KYME, Lincs.⁴ (*Date uncertain but before 1922*)

	<i>Pennies</i>	<i>Cut Halfpenny</i>
Henry I type 10	1	
Henry I type 15	10	
Mule Henry I type 15/Stephen type 1	1	
Stephen type 1	308	1
Stephen type 1 from erased obverse die	1	
Stephen type 1 with obverse inscription PERERIC	6	
Empress Matilda	1	

¹ BMC, p. xxxi; NC 1905, p. 354. Thompson 16.

² BMC, p. xeviii. Thompson 299.

³ See also D. F. Allen *The Cross-and-Crosslets*

Type of Henry II, p. li.

⁴ NC 1922, p. 49. Thompson 337.

	<i>Pennies</i>	<i>Cut Halfpenny</i>
Henry of Anjou?	1	
Stephen type Border Coins	2	
Stephen irregular (198,201)	2	
	<hr/> 333	<hr/> 1

These coins were discovered at an unspecified date at South Kyme which is six miles north-east of Sleaford and 18 miles south-east of Lincoln. No details of the find are now available but the land on which they were found belonged to earl Brownlow and the hoard had been in the family ownership since its discovery. The coins were covered in part with oxide, chiefly of a brownish-red colour but greenish patches were occasionally visible. Two hundred of the coins eventually came to the British Museum and it is believed the remainder were in the possession of L. A. Lawrence, but there were only 63 coins from the find in his sale in 1951.

COLCHESTER, ESSEX, 5th July, 1902.¹

	<i>Pennies</i>
Henry I type 10	1
Henry I type 15	1
Stephen type 7	1
Henry II to Henry III	10,572
Scottish	168
Irish	160
Foreign	23
	<hr/> 10,926

These coins were found at a depth of 5 ft. 6 in. below the surface in a flat leaden vessel on premises in High Street, Colchester. It is one of the largest hoards of medieval coins ever found in this country and over ten thousand were examined at the British Museum. A few coins came into private hands but police recovered the majority.

HENLEY-ON-THAMES, BERKS. 1881²

	<i>Pennies</i>
Stephen type 1	5

Found at Park Place on the Berkshire side of the river. Two presented to B.M. in 1920.

APPENDIX

TABLE OF MONEYERS, MINTS AND TYPES

ACEL	Bury St. Edmunds, Types 1 (5a) and 2 (54a) and 7 (102b)
ADAM	Dover, Type 7 (106)
	Ilchester, Henry of Anjou (257)
	London, Type 7 (117a)
	Oxford, Irregular (181)
	Worcester, Type 7 (131a)
ADELARD	London, Type 1 (22a)
AEDGAR	Ipswich, Types (17a) and 2 (59a)

¹ *NC* 1903, p. 111. Thompson 94.

² R. H. M. Dolley in *BNJ*, xxxi, pp. 162-4.

AEDFARD	Canterbury, Type 1 (6a)
AEDSTAN	Norwich, Type 1 (24a)
AHLRIC	Exeter, Types 1 (13a) and 7 (107)
AHLRICVS	Lincoln, Irregular (169)
AHLWI	Norwich, Type 1 (24b)
ALARD	Worcester, Type 1 (41a)
ALDRED	Hastings, Types 2 (58a) and 6 (84)
ALFPARD	Norwich, Type 1 (24c) and Erased obv. Die (137 and 145)
ALFPINE	Colchester, Type 1 (11a) Gloucester, Type 1 (14a) Pevensey, Type 2 (63) Southwark, Type 1 (32a)
ALFRED	London, Type 1 (22b) and PERERIC (47) Taunton, Type 1 (36)
ALFRICH	Norwich, Type 7 (118a)
ALGAR	London, Mule Stephen Type 1/Henry I, Type 15 (1) Canterbury, Type 1 (66) Exeter, Type 1 (136)
ALGAR:MAN	London Type 1 (22d) (22e)
ALISANDER	London, Types 1 (22e) and 7 (117b)
ALLEM	Worcester, Type 7 (131b)
ALMER	Chester, Type 1 (9a)
ALPINE	London, Type 1 (22c) Pevensey, Type 7 (120a)
ALPOLD	Winchester, Type 1 (40a)
ALVRED	?Tamworth, Type 7 (133)
ANGIE[	Cricklade, Irregular (184)
AREFIN	Bristol, Henry of Anjou (255)
ARFENI	Bristol, Matilda (231)
ARNPI	Lincoln, Type 1 (21a)
AVTGRIM	York, Type 1 (42a)
BALDEPIN	London, Type 1 (22f) Thetford, Type 1 (37a), Type 2 (66a)
BALDEWI	Thetford, Irregular (174) and Defaced Obv. Die (142)
BERTOLD	Castle Rising, Type 1 (8)
BRICMAR	London, Type 1 (22g)
BRIHTPI	Exeter, Type 1 (13c) Uncertain, Irregular (185)
DAGVN	Uncertain, Irregular (194)
DAVID	Bedford, Type 7 (100a) Ipswich, Type 7 (114b) Norwich, Type 7 (118b)
DEREMAN	London, Types 1 (22b) and 7 (117c)
EDMVND	Ipswich, Types 1 (17b) and 2 (59b) and Irregular (164)
EDFARD	Canterbury, Types 2 (55a) and 7 (103a) Colchester, Type 1 (11b) London, Type 2 (61a) Sudbury, Type 7 (124a) and Irregular (162)
EDRED	Warwick, Type 1 (38a)
EDRICVS	Hereford, Type 1 (16a)
EDSTAN	Norwich, Erased Obv. Die (139)
ELLER	Wilton, Type 7 (129a)

ELMAR	Lewes, Type 2 (60a)
EREBALD	Carlisle, Type 1 (279), Eden (280, 281) Corbridge, Henry of Northumberland (283-5)
ESTMVND	London, Type 1 (22j)
ETREI	Norwich, Type 1 (24d)
ETSTAN	Norwich Types 1 (24c) and 2 (62a)
EVSTACE	Norwich, Type 1 (24f) and Erased Obv. Die (147)
EVERARD	Warwick, Types 1 (38b) and 7 (127)
FALCHE	Wilton, Type 1 (39a)
FARDEN	Bristol, Type 1 (4a)
FELIPE	Pevensey, Type 7 (120b)
FOBVND	Durham, Type 1 (12a) and Irregular (188)
GAHAN	Oxford, Type 1 (26a) and probably Type 2 ¹
GEFFREI	London, Types 2 (61b) and 7 (117d) Thetford, Types 1 (37b) and 7 (126) Winchester, Type 1 (40b) and FERERIC (50) York, Type 7 (132a)
GERARD	Hedon, Type 7 (110)
GERMANS	Ipswich, Type 2 (59c)
GILEBERT	Bury St. Edmunds, Type 1 (5b) and Irregular (166) Gloucester, Type 1 (14b) Ipswich, Type 2 (59d) Sudbury, Type 7 (124b)
GILPATRIC	Pembroke, Type 1 (27)
GLADETIN	Lincoln, Type 1 (21b) Irregular (170) and Erased Obv. Die (150)
GOD[	Colchester, Type 7 (105) Sudbury, Type 1 (35a)
GODARD	London, Type 2 (61c)
GODHESE	Canterbury, Type 1 (6c)
GODMER	Huntingdon, Type 7 (112a)
GODPINE	Chichester, Type 1 (10) Lincoln, Type 4 (73) Norwich, Type 1 (24g)
GODRIC	Stafford, Type 1 (33) Worcester, Type 1 (41b)
GODRICVS	London, Type 1 (22k) and FERERIC (48)
GOIMER	Sudbury, Type 1 (35b)
GURDAN	Bristol, Type 1 (4b), Matilda (232) and Erased Obv. Die (136)
HACVN	Thetford, Type 2 (66b)
HAMVND	London, Type 2 (61d)
HENRI	Durham, Type 1 (12b)
HERMER	Norwich, Type 2 (62b)
HERREVI	Lewes, Type 1 (20a)
HERV[	?Pevensey, Type 1 (28)
HILDERAN	Norwich, Types 6 (89) and 7 (118c)
HIVN	Castle Rising, Type 7 (164)
HVE	Lincoln, Type 7 (116a)
HVEO	Winchester, Type 7 (130)
HVNFREI	Bury St. Edmunds, Type 2 (54b) Lewes, Types 6 (85) and 7 (115)

¹ See *BMC* no. 173a.

IVN	Bury St. Edmunds, Type 1 (5c) Canterbury, Type 1 (6d) Castle Rising, Type 7 (104)
KIFFIG	Winchester, Type 1 (40c)
LAISIG	York, Type 1 (42b)
LEFRED	London, Type 1 (22f)
LEFRIC	Warwick, Type 1 (38c)
LEFRICVS	?Lincoln, Irregular (203)
LEFSI	Stamford, Type 1 (34a) FERERIC (49) and Erased Obv. Die (151)
MARTIN	York, Type 1 (42c) and Erased Obv. Die (156)
ODARD	Carlisle, Type 1 (282) (probably)
ODE or ODDE	Thetford, Type 1 (37c)
ORGAR	?Bramber, Type 7 (101a)
OSEBERN	Ipswich, Types 1 (17c) and 2 (59e) and Irregular (159 and 165) Lewes, Types 1 (20b) and 2 (60b) ?Oxford, Irregular (176) Sandwich, Type 7 (123a)
OSLAC	Lincoln, Type 1 (21c)
OTVRN	York, Type 1 (42f)
OTERche	Norwich, Type 1 (24h)
OTERE	Norwich, Erased Obv. Die (140)
PAEN	Lincoln, Types 4 (72) and 7 (116c) Northampton, Types 1 (23) and 3 (67, 68 and 69)
PAGANVS	Ipswich, Irregular (167)
PAEN	Ipswich, Type 1 (17d)
PICRIC or PITRIC	Hereford, Type 1 (16c, d and e) and Henry of Anjou (243)
RADEWLF	Gloucester, Henry of Anjou (246)
RALF	Gloucester, Types 1 (14c) and 7 (108a)
RANDVLF	Colchester, Type 2 (57)
RAPVLF	Lincoln, Types 1 (21d) and FERERIC (45) Oxford, Type 1 (26b) Rye, Mule 1/2 (52), Types 2 (64) and 7 (121)
RAVL	Norwich, Type 2 (62c) Wareham, Matilda (235-6)
RAVLF	London, Types 6 (8b) and 7 (117e) Norwich, Type 7 (118d)
RAVENSPERT	Chester, Type 1 (9b) Shrewsbury, Type 1 (31a)
REINALD	Lincoln, Type 1 (21c) ?Nottingham, Irregular (179)
RICARD	London, Type 7 (117f) Shaftesbury, Type 1 (30a)
RODBERT	?Bramber, Type 7 (101c) Bristol, Matilda (233) Canterbury, Types 1 (103b), 6 (79) and 7 (103b) and Irregular (158) Castle Rising, Types 2 (56) and 6 (81) Gloucester, Henry of Anjou (247) Hastings, Types 1 (15a), 2 (58b) and 7 (109) London, Types 1 (22m), 2 (61e) and 7 (117g) Shrewsbury, Type 1 (31b)

ROGIER	Canterbury, Types 2 (55b), 6 (80) and 7 (103c) Ipswich, Irregular (160 and 163) Lincoln, Irregular (172) London, Type 1 (22n) Wareham, William of Gloucester (265) Winchester, Type 1 (40e)
ROGIER:BO	Canterbury, Type 2 (55c)
ROGIRVS	Winchester, Type 1 (40d)
SAFARE	Colchester, Type 1 (11e)
SAGRIM	Shaftesbury, Type 1 (30b)
SAIET	Winchester, Type 1 (40f)
SAMAR	Leicester, Type 1 (19a)
SANSON	Canterbury, Irregular (207-213)
SAPINE	Hastings, Type 1 (15b) and Erased Obv. Die (155)
SIBERN	Hereford, Type 1 (16b) and Henry of Anjou (248)
SIGAR	Sudbury, Type 1 (35c)
SIGFARD	Lincoln, Type 1 (21f)
SIHTRIC	Norwich, Type 1 (24j)
SIMVN	Leicester, Types 1 (19b), 5 (7b) and Irregular (178)
SIPARD	Lincoln, PERERIC (46) Stamford, Type 1 (34b) Winchester, Type 1 (40g)
SMEAPIN	London, Type 1 (22o)
SPEDMAN	Norwich, Type 1 (24i)
SPEIN or SVEIN	Nottingham, Types 1 (25) and 7 (119) and Erased Obv. Die (149)
SPETIG	Oxford, Type 1 (26e) and Matilda (234)
STANCHIL	Norwich, Type 2 (62d) York, Type 1 (42g)
STANGHVN	Salisbury, Type 1 (29)
STANVNG ¹	Salisbury, Type 7 (122a)
STENCI[	Norwich, Type 6 (92)
STIEFNE	Winchester, Type 1 (40h)
SVNEMAN	Norwich, Type 1 (24k)
THOR	Norwich, Types 6 (91) and 7 (118e)
THVRBER	Chester, Type 1 (9c)
TIERRI:D	London, Types 2 (61f) and 7 (117b)
TOMAS	Bedford, Types 2 (53), 6 (77) and 7 (100b) Wilton, Type 1 (39b)
TOVI	London, Type 1 (22p)
TVRCHIL	Bristol, Type 1 (4e) PERERIC (43), Matilda (230) Southwark, Type 1 (32b)
VILAM	Uncertain, Mule 1/2 (51)
VINMAN	Salisbury, Type 7 (122b)
VLF	York, Type 1 (42e)
WALCHELINVS	Derby, Irregular (175)
WALTER	Chester, Type 1 (9d) Huntingdon, Type 7 (112b) Norwich, Types 1 (24n) and 2 (62e) and Erased Obv. Die (141)
WALTERI	Malmesbury, Henry of Anjou (244 and 259)

¹ Probably the same as STANGHVN who coined in Type 1.

WENSTAN	Hastings, Type 1 (15c)
WIBERT	Gloucester, Type 1 (14d)
WILEALME	Carlisle, Type 1 (277)
WILLEM	?Bamburgh, Henry of Northumberland (288-89)
	?Bramber, Type 7 (101b)
	Bury St. Edmunds, Type 7 (102a)
	Canterbury, Type 1 (6f) and PERERIC (44)
	Cardiff, Type 1 (7)
	Carlisle, Henry of Northumberland (286-7)
	?Cirencester, Henry of Anjou (250), William of Gloucester (263)
	Gloucester, Type 7 (108b), Henry of Anjou (254)
	Hereford, Henry of Anjou (241, 242)
	Launceston, Type 1 (18)
	Lewes, Type 1 (20c)
	?Newcastle, Irregular (190)
	?Northampton, Type 3 (68 and 69)
	Norwich, Types 1 (241), 6 (90) and 7 (118f)
	Wilton, Type 7 (129b)
WVLFOLD	Southwark, Type 1 (32c)
WVLFERIC	Canterbury, Type 1 (6h)
	Sandwich, Types 2 (65) and 7 (123b)
	Worcester, Type 1 (41c)
WVLFWINE	Canterbury, Type 1 (6g)
	London, Types 1 (22q), 6 (87) and 7 (117j)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am, of course, much indebted to the Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum and his staff, not only for their kindness on all occasions and for providing me with casts of important coins but also for letting me see W. J. Andrew's original Ms. for his work on this period which began to appear in Vol. VI (1909) of this *Journal* but was never completed. Much of Andrew's work is now considered out of date and many people have from time to time expressed different views on certain aspects of this period. Nevertheless it contains much material of worth. I must also thank the members of the Coin Rooms at the Ashmolean and Fitzwilliam Museums for their courtesy in letting me see their coins; Dr. Anne Robertson of the Hunter collection, Glasgow, for providing me with one or two casts of rare coins; Mr E. W. Danson of Derby for his very valuable assistance in connection with the coins from the Nottingham find, many of which are in the Nottingham Castle Museum; Mr. H. R. Mossop for his assistance over Lincoln coins of the period; Mr. N. C. Ballingal for help over certain Baronial and Irregular coins; Mr. I. H. Stewart for his ideas and help over the Scottish Border coins, and Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson for his assistance over the coins in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland at Edinburgh. Most of all I am indebted to Mr. Elmore Jones who very kindly read through and commented on all I had written about the regular coinage of the reign and who gave me the full benefit of his unrivalled knowledge of this period. Finally my thanks are due to Mr. C. E. Blunt for his many helpful suggestions and without whose help and advice this paper would never have been published.



1

2

11b

14b

16d

16e

22e



22g

24h

26a

27

33

37a

42b



43a

44a

44b

45a

45b

46c

46d



46f

46g

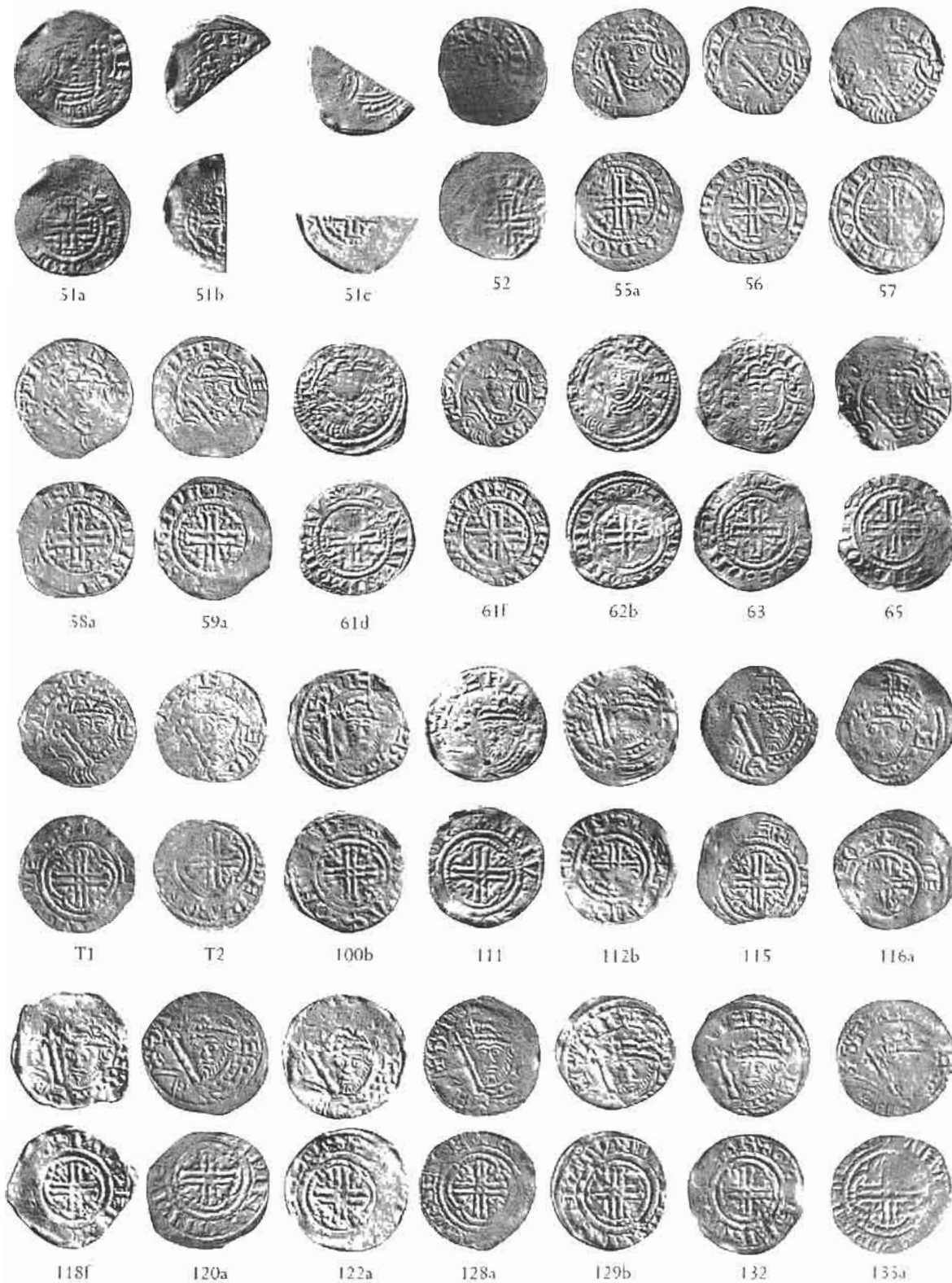
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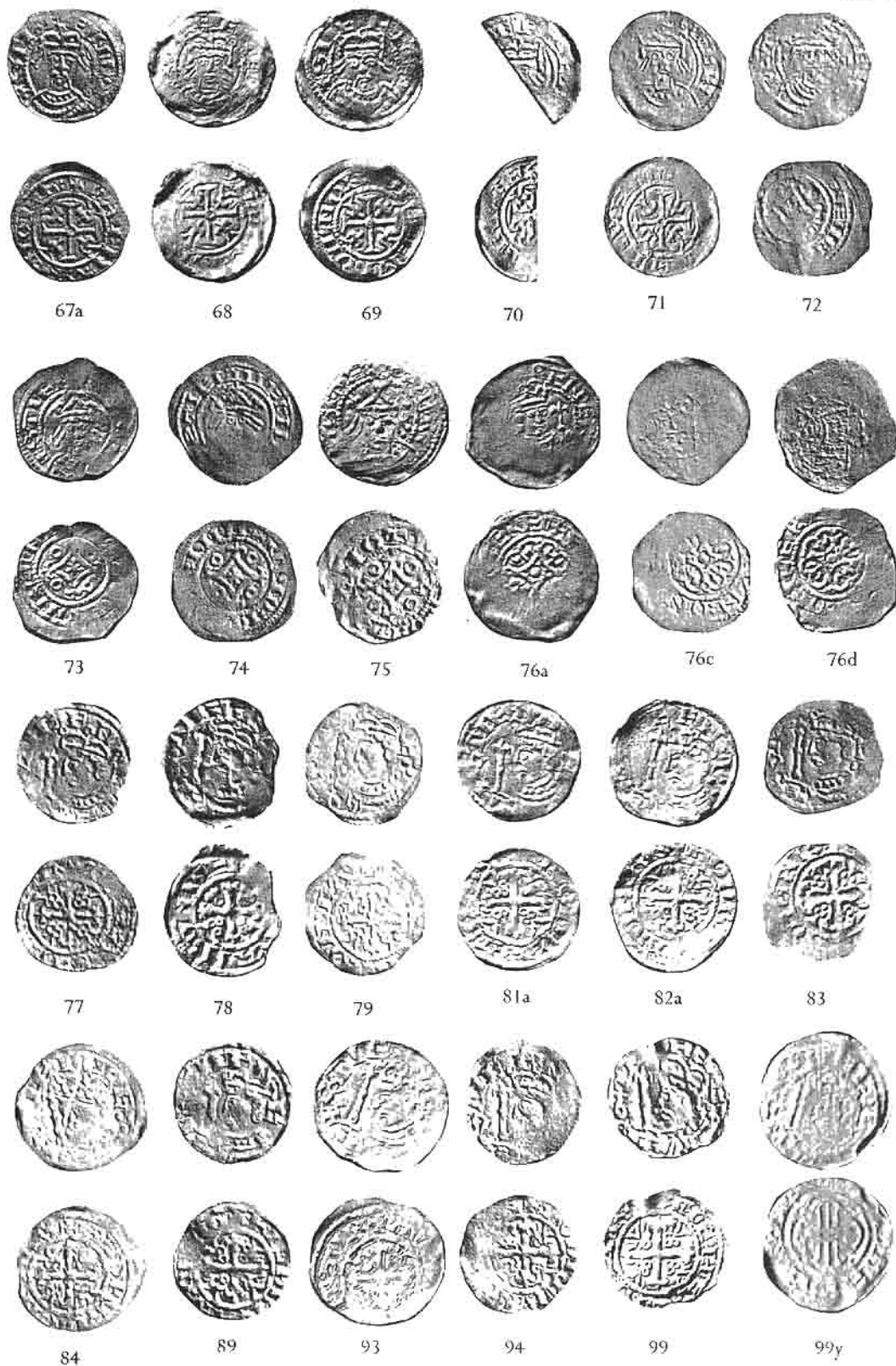
48b

48c

48d

49a







136a

137a

137b

138b

141a

141b

142b



143

145

148

149c

149f

149o

149ee



149oo

149qq

150a

151a

151c

152a

152b



153

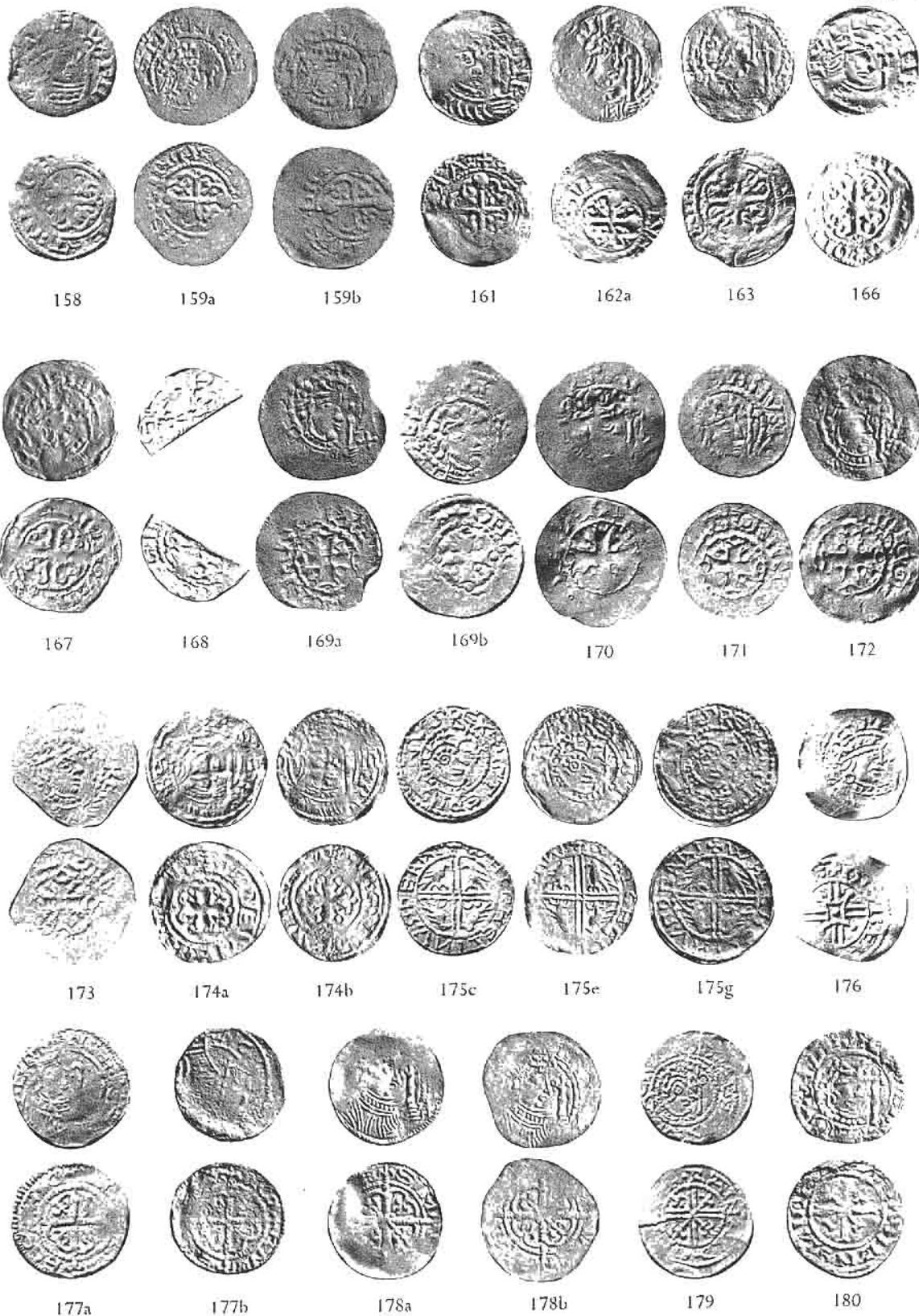
154

156

157a

157l

157e





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187y

188a

188b

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191

192



193a

194

195a

197

199a

200

201a



205

206

207b

208

210

211b

212



215

216

217a

217b

217c

217e

217f



217g

217h

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218b

219

220a

220b

220c

220d



220e

220f

220h

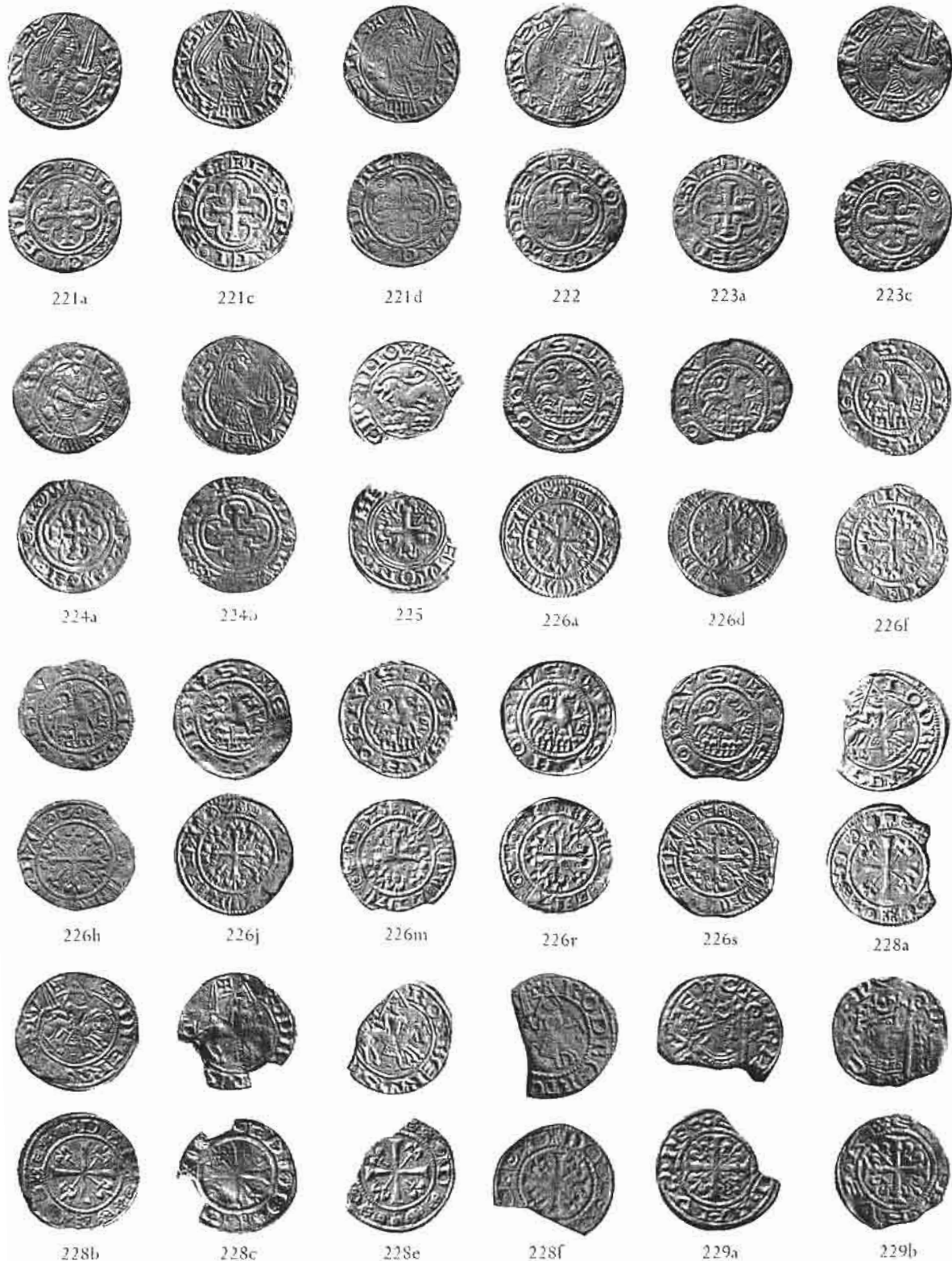
220j

220k

220l

220p







230a



230b



231a



231b



232a



232b



233a



233b



234a



234b



235



236b



237b



238



239





241

242

243a

244

246

248



249

250

251

252

253a

253b



253c

254

255a

255b

255c

256



257

258

259

260

261



262

263

264

265a

265b



266

268

269a

269b

270



271a

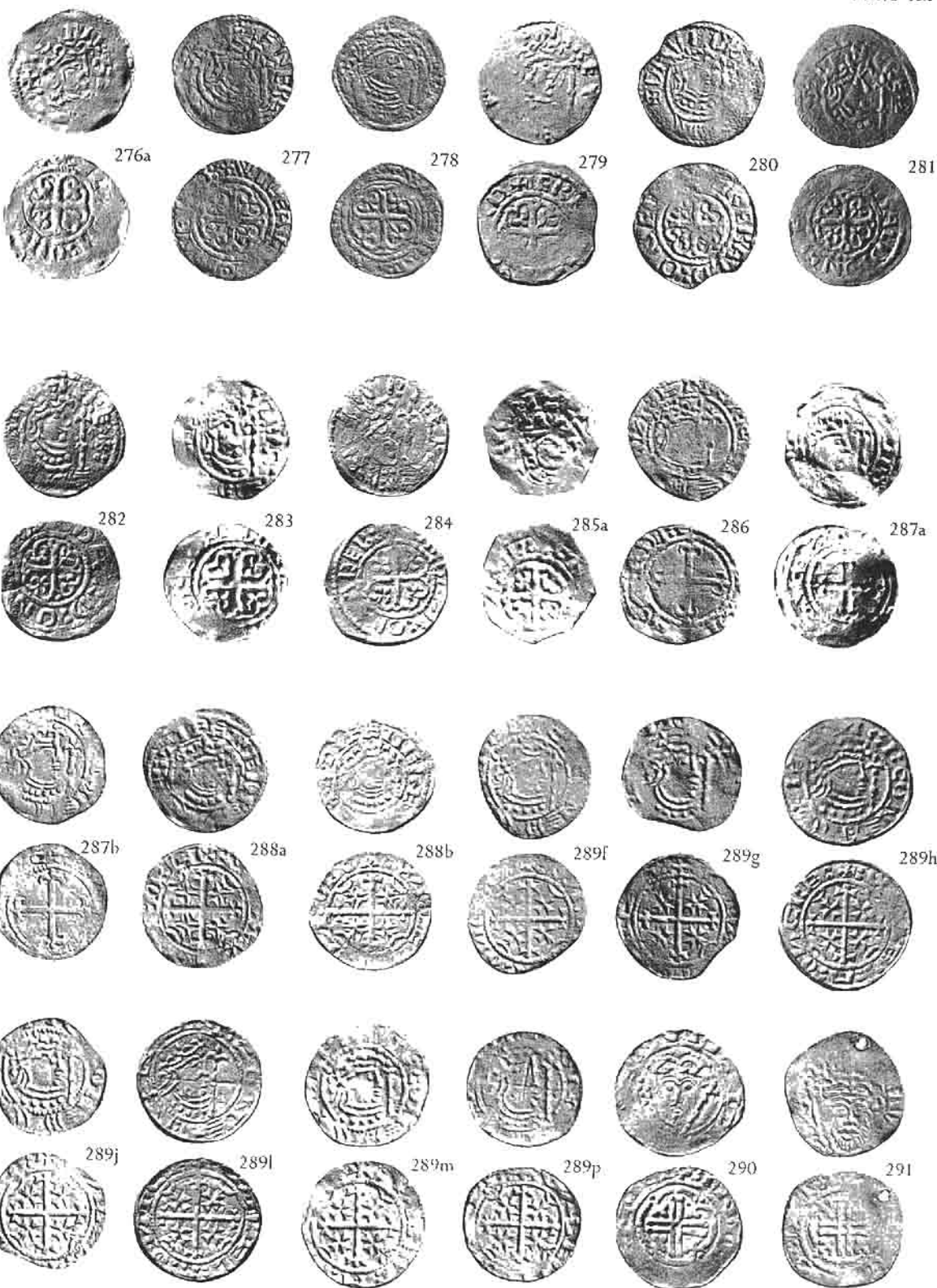
271b

272

273

274

275



A SMALL FIND OF TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PENNIES FROM TULLINTOWELL

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

PRESERVED in the coin-cabinet of the National Museum of Ireland is a group of 36 English and Anglo-Irish pennies of Henry II, John and Henry III which were discovered by a Mr. John Heenigan on 7 June 1932 in the townland of Tullintowell, parish of Killargue (Killarga), barony of Dromahair, Co. Leitrim. A townland, it should perhaps be explained, is a peculiarly Irish sub-division of a civil parish, and a barony a sub-division of a county. Both reflect, of course, the English conquest, but there is reason to think that the units in question often have their roots in the more distant past. The place indicated lies a few miles to the north-west of Drumkeerin and in the immediate vicinity of Lough Belhavel about halfway along the valley linking Loughs Allen and Gill. There was no trace of any container, and the coins were found nestling together some 16-18 inches below the modern surface of the ground. A very full and, in the light of then knowledge, extremely competent account of the discovery appears to have been drawn up for eventual publication by a local schoolmaster, and a copy of the typescript is in the National Museum from another source. The Tullintowell find, however, does not figure in Mr. J. D. A. Thompson's 1956 *Inventory of British Coin Hoards*, and there is some reason to think that the above-mentioned paper may never have been printed. For the sake of completeness, therefore, and in anticipation of a future *corpus* of mediaeval coin-hoards relating to Ireland, there is now offered the following summary listing of the find.

ENGLAND

HENRY II (1154-1189)

Second ('Short-Cross') Coinage (1180-1189)				Weight (grains)
	Lawrence class			
(1)	Ib	Lincoln, Lefwine (curls absent)	+LEFWINE·ON·NICO	22½
(2)	Ib	Winchester, Adam	+ADAM·ON·WINCE	22
(3)	Ic	London, Raul	+RAVL·ON·LVNDE	21½
(4)	Ic	Winchester, Gocelm	+GOCELM·ON·|||/|NC	19

RICHARD I (1189-1199)

(5)	IVa	Canterbury, Coldwine	+COLDWINE·ON·CA	19
(6)	IVb	Canterbury, Coldwine (blundered mint-signature)	+COLDWINE·ON·NT (?)	19½
(7)	IVb	Canterbury, Reinaud	+REINAUD ON CA	21

JOHN (1199-1216)

Second Coinage (1204/5-1216)				
(8)	Vb*	London, Rener	+RENER·ON·LVND(lig.)E	21½
(9)	Vb*	Winchester, Rauf	+RAVF·ON·WINC	22
(10)	Vb*	York, Davi	+DAVI·ON·EVER	22

(11)	Vc	London, Ilger	+I////ER·ON·LVND(lig.)	22½
(12)	Vc	London, Walter	+WAL'////////ON·LVN	20
(13)	VIa†	London, Abel	+ABEL·ON'////VND(lig.)E	22½
(14)	VIa††	London, Ilger	+ILGER·ON·LVND(lig.)C	22½
(15)	VIb	Canterbury, Iohan	+IOHAN·ON·CANTE	21
(stop divides words of <i>obv.</i> leg.)				
(16)	VIb	London Ilger	+ILGER·ON·LVNDE:	22½
(17)	VIc**	Canterbury, Samuel	+SAMVEL·ON·CANT	22½
(ornamental second 'r' in <i>obv.</i> leg.)				

* Coin of Mr. J. D. Brand's class Vbⁱⁱ

† " " " " " " " " VIaⁱ

†† " " " " " " " " VIaⁱⁱⁱ

** This coin may belong to the first months of the following reign.

HENRY III (1216-1272)

First ('Short-Cross') Coinage (1216-1247)

(18)	VIIa	Canterbury, Iun	+IVNONCANTE	24
(19)	VIIa	Canterbury, Samuel	+SAMVELONCANT	22½
(20)	VIIa	London, Rauf	+RAVFONL'////DE	21½
(21)	VIIa	London, Raulf	+RAVLFON'////ND	22
(22)	VIIb*	Canterbury, Henri	+HENRIONCANT	22½
(23)	VIIb*	Canterbury, Ioan Chic	+IOANCHICONCA	22½
(24)	VII	Canterbury, Ioan	+IOANONCANTE	20½
(25)	VII	Canterbury Ioan Chic	+IOANCHICONCAN	22½
(26)	VII	Canterbury, Ioan Chic	+IOANCHICONCA	22½
(27)	VII	Canterbury, Roger of R	///OGEROFRONC	21½
(28)	VII	Canterbury, Simon	+SIMO'/////////T	22½
(doublestruck)				
(29)	VII	London, Elis	+ELISONLVNDE	22
(30)	VII	London, Ilger	+ILGERONLVND	22
(31)	VII	London, Ledulf	+LEDVLFONLVN·	22½
(32)	VII	London, Ledulf	+LEDVFFEONLV	21
(33)	VII	London, Terri	+TERRIONLVNDE	22
(final 'e' quasi-ornamental)				
(34)	VII	London, Terri	+TERRIONLVNDE	22½

* Coin of Mr. J. D. Brand's class VIIbⁱ

IRELAND

LORDSHIP OF JOHN (1177-1216)

Third ('REX') Coinage (1204/5- c. 1211?)

(35)	Penny, sole type, Dublin, Roberd	ROBE RD·ON DIVE·	21½
(36)	Penny, sole type, Dublin, Roberd	ROBE RDON DIVE	21½

For the dating of the Anglo-Irish coins reference should be made to *North Munster Studies* (ed. E. Rynne, Limerick, 1967) pp. 437-478 where quite a body of evidence is marshalled against the traditional view that this coinage of John as King of England did not begin until c. 1210. However, this particular *crux* is one not strictly relevant to the question of the date when the Tullintowell find was concealed, since on any telling the Irish pieces are a whole decade and probably a quarter of a century earlier than the latest English coins.

It will be seen that exactly half of the English pennies are of the variety known to numismatists as Lawrence Class VII. The chronology which Lawrence originally proposed for

this series would place these pieces after *c.* 1223 and before *c.* 1242, and a date well on within this bracket would appear to be suggested by the fact that Ledulf at London, for example, was recorded by him only in the third of three sub-classes which he distinguished. Recently, however, the inception of Lawrence Class VII has tended to be placed earlier and earlier, and in the 1964 *British Numismatic Journal* (p. 67) Mr. J. D. Brand has argued pretty convincingly that the emission began in 1217/1218. A modification of this *terminus post quem* for the Tullintowell hoard, however, is provided by its inclusion of two coins of the London moneyer Terri who figures in a 1222 list of moneyers but not in one of 1218. Unfortunately we do not know when Ledulf received his appointment, and it would be unwise in view of the small number of coins to press the apparent absence of pieces of the London moneyers Adam and Richard of Necton, both appointed *c.* 1229/1230, or of the Canterbury moneyer Robert, a native of that city, who was appointed towards the end of 1235. For all this, one is reluctant to place the concealment of the Tullintowell find much if at all before *c.* 1230, and one suspects that the coins could very well have been hidden a whole decade later.

As it happens, mediæval coin-hoards from Connacht are not all that common, and students of the *Short-Cross* series scarcely need to be reminded of the analogue from the mearing of Co. Mayo and Co. Galway a few miles to the north-east of Cong, the considerably larger 1946 hoard from Kilmaine (*Inventory* 216) which is probably to be dated *c.* 1240 (*cf.* *BNJ*, XXIX, ii (1959), p. 319). A glance, though, at the pages of such obvious primary sources as the *Annals of Loch Cé* and the *Annals of Connacht* should be sufficient to dispel any impression that the historian ought to have no difficulty whatever in suggesting a convincing occasion for either deposit. In point of fact the state of Connacht throughout the second quarter of the thirteenth century was such that it would be easier to suggest years when such hoards are unlikely to have been concealed. De Burgo and FitzGerald, it will be remembered, both were extending their influence in North Connacht, and the dissensions of the Ó Connor cousins meant that there was scarcely a summer without internal hosting or foreign incursion.

In conclusion, readers of this note may find it useful to have the Tullintowell find summarized in slightly modified *Inventory* format:—

TULLINTOWELL, nr, Drumkeerin, Co. Leitrim, 7 June 1932.

36 R English and Anglo-Irish pennies.

Deposit: after 1230?

ENGLAND (34 pennies): HENRY II. 'Short Cross' coinage—*Lincoln*: Lawrence gp. i: Lefwine, 1. *London*: Lawrence gp. 1: Raul, 1. *Winchester*: Lawrence gp. i: Adam, 1; Gocelm, 1. RICHARD I. 'Short Cross' coinage—*Canterbury*: Lawrence gp. iv: Coldwine, 2; Reinaud, 1. JOHN. 'Short Cross' coinage—*Canterbury*: Lawrence gp. vi: Iohan, 1; Samuel, 1. *London*: Lawrence gp. v: Ilger, 1; Renner, 1; Walter, 1. Lawrence gp. vi: Abel, 1; Ilger, 2. *Winchester*: Lawrence gp. v: Rauf, 1. *York*: Lawrence gp. v: Davi, 1. HENRY III. 'Short Cross' coinage—*Canterbury*: Lawrence gp. vii: Henri, 1; Ioan, 1; Ioan Chic, 3; Iun, 1; Roger of R, 1; Samuel, 1; Simon, 1. *London*: Lawrence gp. vii: Elis, 1; Ilger, 1; Ledulf, 2; Rau(l)f, 2; Terri, 2. IRELAND (2 pennies): JOHN. 'Rex' coinage—*Dublin*: Roberd, 2.

No container.

R. H. M. Dolley in *BNJ* XXXV (1966), pp. 113–115.

Disposition: the coins, found in open country at a depth of 16–18", are all in the coin-cabinet of the National Museum of Ireland.

It only remains for the writer to express his obligations to Dr. William O'Sullivan, M.R.I.A., for permission to study the coins and to publish this account, and to Mr. John D. Brand for checking both the coins and the original listing, and for offering a number of most valuable observations. In neither cases, though, is there to be inferred responsibility for any deficiencies in this note, as for these the author alone is to be blamed.

THE EMERGENCY MINT OF WILTON IN 1180

By JOHN D. BRAND and F. ELMORE JONES

THERE are many references in the Pipe Rolls to the great re-coinage of 1180. In particular the salaries paid to Philip Aimer and to fifteen other *Cambiatores* are documented in some detail. Not all of these exchangers were working together at any one time, nor are the periods of activity at all exchange towns of equal duration. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that the Pipe Rolls are primarily a record of income due to the King, and that items of expenditure are only recorded therein when an accounting party claimed them in diminution of his debt to the Exchequer. The notes we have of the exchangers' salaries are therefore in all probability to some degree incomplete. The records are not usually explicit as to which town or towns each individual exchanger was assigned. Nevertheless we can infer with some confidence at least seven places where exchangers were employed, viz. London, Exeter, Lincoln, Northampton, Winchester, Worcester and York. Previous writers have included Nottingham and Norwich in this category, but there is no real evidence for them.¹ All of the seven exchange towns were also the seats of mints during the issue of the early classes of the Short Cross coinage.²

The coins, however, prove the existence of three mints which apparently were not exchange towns, viz. Carlisle, Oxford and Wilton. An explanation for this apparent anomaly with respect to Carlisle and Oxford has been published by D. F. Allen,³ who went on to say 'There is some mystery about the Wilton mint in the Short Cross period'.⁴ So far as we are aware no possible explanation for Wilton as a Short Cross mint has yet been put forward.

That something unusual did happen in the coinage of Wilton at this time is evidenced by our discovery not only of an obverse die-link in class Ia between Wilton and Winchester, but also of a reverse die of Winchester having been altered from WIN to WIL. It is the purpose of this paper to put these discoveries on record and to see whether it is now possible to put forward an explanation for this third apparently anomalous mint.

The much maligned Ruding provides a clue to the mystery. In his account of the Winchester mint he wrote:

'1180. In the 27th year of Henry II, the king having ordered a new coinage to be made, whilst the workmen of the mint here were employed in fabricating the coin, a fire broke out, which consumed the mint, and the greater and more valuable part of the city'.⁵

As his authority he quoted 'Annal. Winton. an. 1180'. On reference to the published Annals the following passage is found under 1180:

¹ In addition to the absence of documentary evidence may be remarked the fact that no coin is known which could reasonably be assigned to Nottingham and it is virtually certain that this town was not a Short Cross mint. Norwich, however, certainly was a Short Cross mint (it took part in the great re-coinage of 1205) and hitherto it has always been assumed to have been a mint in class I. Recent numismatic evidence has, however, casts doubts on the validity of this latter (see *BNJ* xxxiii, pp. 70-72). It is now the writers' opinion, partly based

on documentary evidence from the period, that the Norwich mint did not open up until *circa* 1194.

² The classification used is that evolved by Dr. L. A. Lawrence, *BNJ* xi, pp. 59-100.

³ D. F. Allen, *BMCH* 2, p. xci.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 216. The sentence continues 'which it is beyond the scope of this catalogue to investigate'.

⁵ Rev. Rogers Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, 3rd. edn. (1840), vol. II, p. 174.

'Nocte vigiliae sancti Swithuni accensa est monetaria in Wintonia, et egressus inde ignis consumit majorem partem et meliorem Wintoniae'.¹

A translation of this passage is as follows:

'During the night of the eve of St. Swithin (i.e. the night of 1st/2nd July) the mint in Winchester was burnt, and the fire spreading from there destroyed the greater and better part of Winchester'.²

The following is a possible explanation for the die-alteration and the die-linking. Winchester was an important centre of trade and politics, and was still at this time the central depository of the treasury. In mid 1180, soon after the re-coinage had started, there would be a large unsatisfied demand for the new pennies. It would therefore be imperative to have readily to hand a mint available to strike the new coinage. Wilton, less than thirty miles away, had been in operation earlier in the reign, and presumably the coining facilities there could have been put into working order again quite quickly. Following the great fire in which the mint at Winchester was put out of commission, and with the pressing need for the new coins to be available, the most likely place to have turned to in an emergency would have been Wilton.

The two moneyers of Wilton, Osber and Rodbert, have the same names, as represented on the coins, as those of two of the Winchester moneyers. It is accordingly well within the bounds of possibility that, following the Winchester fire, two of that city's moneyers transferred their operations to Wilton on an emergency basis until such time as new premises could be provided for them in Winchester. In our opinion this explains the use of the same obverse dies at both mints. It also explains the alteration of the mint-signature on a reverse die as being an emergency measure pending the preparation and delivery of dies with the new *de facto* mint-signature.

The Wilton mint need only have operated for a very short time, a matter of months, if not even only weeks, as the coins with a Wilton mint-signature (quite rare today) are of classes Ia and Ib only. A short gap in the issues at Winchester is not noticeable from the evidence of the coins themselves, and no doubt the mint was returned to Winchester, the principal city, just as soon as was practicable.

Ten coins figure in the complex of die-links which is the *raison d'être* of this paper. All of class Ia, they stem from combinations of five obverse dies (distinguished as A-E on the list below) and five reverse dies (distinguished as a-e) as follows:

No.	Reverse	Obverse
1	a. Gocelm, Winchester	A
2	b. Rodbert, Winchester	B
3	same die	A
4	c. Henri, Winchester	A
5	same die	D
6	same die	E
7	d. Rodbert, altered	A
8	same die	C
9	same die	D
10	e. Rodbert, Wilton	E

Their inter-linking may perhaps be more readily perceived from the illustrations on Plate XV, nos. 1-10, where the die-links are indicated in the conventional manner. It would seem

¹ *Annales de Wintonia*, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, (5 vols., Rolls Series 36, 1864-9), vol. II, p. 62.

² We are indebted to Mr. R. J. Trett for translating this passage for us.

that at least four of these obverse dies were in use at Winchester (A, B, D & E) and that three of this set A, D & E) were transferred to Wilton and used there at the outset of the emergency.

Although having no direct bearing on the particular subject which is the title of this paper, the die-linking shown above raises an interesting point. Recently there was put forward the proposition that during the re-coinage of 1205, only a quarter of a century later than the coins now being discussed, the obverse dies, or at any rate those in the provincial mints, were not appropriated to the exclusive use of any one moneyer, and may have formed a common pool for the use of all moneyers as and when needed.¹ We have here some evidence that a similar situation may have existed in Winchester in 1180, obverse die A having been used there by at least three moneyers. Moreover, the single reverse die of Henri was used with three different obverses: this cannot be explained by their use in succession as the dies wore out, for all three of these obverses were later used at Wilton.² The altered die of Rodbert is also used with three obverses but, assuming as we do that the dies had been transferred hurriedly and were used at Wilton as an emergency measure, it would hardly be appropriate to deduce from this any principles of general application. We can, however, assume that the altered die would be worn out before the die with the Wilton mint-signature came into use and accordingly No. 10 in the list must be the latest coin in the complex. Nevertheless it is possible that other coins exist which would fit into the complex and, if so, the writers would very much like to be informed of them.

It will be noted that the other Wilton moneyer, Osber, who must surely be the same as the Winchester moneyer of that name, is not, so far as is known, involved in the complex.³ Wilton coins in class Ib are by no means common, but in class Ia it is very possible that the single specimen recorded of each moneyer (by which is implied in the case of Rodbert the coin with the unequivocal Wilton mint-signature) is in fact unique. These two coins are in the British Museum.⁴ Class Ic is unknown of Wilton, and Wilton is in fact the only class I mint of which Ic is not known.⁵ All the indications are that the mint was closed very early in the run of class Ib when both moneyers, Osber and Rodbert, returned to Winchester and continued striking there.

As already mentioned, Wilton as a Short Cross mint has been something of an anomaly as there is no direct evidence for it in the Pipe Rolls. However, the coins speak for themselves and in the opinion of the writers their story can now be seen to make complete sense when once the significance of the destruction of the Winchester mint by fire in 1180 is appreciated.

We cannot close without thanking the Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum for permission to photograph and to illustrate three coins (Nos. 2, 5 & 10) which are in the National Collection, and also Mr. Peter Woodhead for photographing all the coins here illustrated and which include one (No. 4) from his own cabinet. The remaining eight coins on the plate are in Mr. Elmore Jones' collection.

¹ J. D. Brand, *Some Short Cross Questions*, *BNJ* xxxiii, pp. 61-4.

² Henri is only known at Winchester in class I from this single die of class Ia. Twenty-five years later the name reappears at this mint in class Va, again from a single die, though this Henri can hardly have been the same moneyer. In class VIc (very rare of this mint) the name appears yet once more, and after a further lapse of some twelve years. Presumably this Henri is also a different moneyer, but this time we know his full name to have been Henricus de Templo (LTR 2 H.III m.5). We

assume that these fleeting appearances by three moneyers of this name in widely separated types must be purely coincidental.

³ An obverse die-link does exist between Osber and Rodbert at Wilton in class Ib. The two coins are in Mr. Elmore Jones' collection.

⁴ The coin of Osber is illustrated in *NC* 1948, pl. xiv, no. 15.

⁵ In *BNJ* xi Lawrence records Oxford as being unknown in class Ic, but we are convinced that the coin there recorded as being class IIa is in fact class Ic, and that it is IIa which is unknown.

APPENDIX

There is one further coin which is very relevant to the problem discussed above. Also of Rodbert, it is from another reverse die which has been altered from WIN to WIL. (Plate XV, No. 12). In this instance, however, the coin is of class Ib.

It should be emphasised that the dividing line between classes Ia and Ib in the Lawrence classification is very narrow in that it is simply the difference in the form of the three letters C, E and M, and, as is typical of this coinage, the one sub-class fades into the next. As a normal occurrence a single die may include these letters in both the old and the new forms, and Lawrence defined class Ia as any die on which at least one letter is in the old form. This form is square in the cases of C and E, and round in the case of M. In illustration of this point, an excellent example is the coin of Gocelm of Winchester which is No. 11 on the plate. This is virtually a class Ia coin and yet all the E's and C's (of which there are five in all) are round and only the M is of the early form. The bust is completely typical of class Ia, but under a strict interpretation of Lawrence's criteria it would have to be classified as a Ib/Ia mule.

With Rodbert of Winchester there is only one of these variable letters, an E, in the reverse legend, and a coin with this letter in the round form instead of square could well be very early in the issue of class I. Indeed one of the dies of Rodbert in the class Ia die complex itself (the altered die!) has a round E on the reverse, and if the Lawrence criteria were to be accepted literally would be classified as a Ia/Ib mule. Although this further coin of Rodbert is of class Ib it is evidently early in the issue. It is one of a small sub-group of Class I noted by us some years ago, but not yet written up for publication. On these coins the letter x has well defined serifs and the bust has strong affinities with that on the 'true' coins of class Ia. The writers feel that this sub-group (which in their own private notes they refer to as Ia*) must come immediately after the 'true' coins.¹

How can this second altered die fit into the chronology of the die-complex of the class Ia coins? It is too early to be the last die used at Wilton and then taken back to Winchester. Moreover, from the two specimens which we have seen it would definitely seem to be WIN altered to WIL and not *vice versa*. If, instead, it is regarded as one of the first dies used at Wilton we are faced with an apparent anomaly. There are two dies of Rodbert issued for use at Winchester and altered for use at Wilton, one of which (this further one) is *prima facie* later than the die with an unequivocal Wilton mint-signature which is no. 10 on the plate in the class Ia complex.

However, it is thought that in normal circumstances a moneyer would have two reverse dies at any one time: one in use and one in reserve. When the first became unserviceable through wear he would continue striking with what had until then been his 'reserve', and in the meantime would surrender the worn-out die to be exchanged for a new one. In this way continuity of striking would be achieved. It could well be, therefore, that Rodbert had both of these two reverse dies in his possession at Winchester at the time of the fire and took them with him to Wilton where they were altered. One was used with the obverse dies also taken from Winchester and the other a little later. This presupposes that the die was not merely an error made by the die-cutter and corrected before leaving the workshop (a not uncommon occurrence in the early coins of class I), but that it was actually altered at the mint.

Nevertheless, whatever the true explanation of this second altered die may be, we do not think that it in any way detracts from the evidence of the die-linking complex in class Ia and the inferences to be drawn therefrom.

¹ Another example of this sub-class is illustrated in *BNJ* xxxiii, pl. vii, nos. 8 and 9 (same die), and two more in *NC* 1903, pl. iv, nos. 3 and 4.

THE BROUGHTON HOARD

By J. J. NORTH

DURING work in 1964, beneath the foundations of an old house in Broughton, near Stockbridge, Hampshire, a hoard of 332 silver coins, consisting mainly of Edwardian pence, was unearthed. The hoard in its entirety was purchased by Spink & Son Ltd. and Mr. Douglas Liddell kindly permitted the writer to examine and list the coins for publication. They were heavily corroded and intensive cleaning was necessary before positive identification was possible. There was considerable loss of weight as a result of corrosion and for this reason the weights have been omitted from this note.

The English content consisted of 283 coins (255 pence, 10 halfpence, and 18 farthings) together with 33 Scottish sterlings, 11 Irish coins and 5 Continental sterlings. The following table gives a summary of the classification of the pence in accordance with the Fox brothers with the exception of classes IVa-c (see Appendix).

MINT	Ic	Id	IIa	IIb	IIIa	IIIb	IIIc	IIId	IIIe	IIIf	IIIg	IVa-c	IVd	IVe	Va	Vb	Total
Bristol				8			5	4			9						26
Bury																	
St. Edmunds												2					2
Canterbury				2			2	2		1	7	23	2	3	2	1	45
Chester											2						2
Durham				3			1		3		1	1					9
Lincoln								5			5						10
London	2	6	6	12	1	1	12	17		3	19	38	18	3	2	1	141
Newcastle									1								1
York (Royal)				1	3		3	3	8								18
York (Archiepiscopal)							1										1
	2	6	7	28	1	4	24	28	12	4	43	64	20	6	4	2	255

The latest coins of Class Vb indicate a deposit date of c. 1290 A.D. plus or minus a year or so and the presence of Continental sterlings in so early an English context is worthy of note.

The English pence are a representative selection of the types and mints of the period covered, but the large proportion of farthings (nearly 7%) is unusual.

Apart from minor varieties noted in the lists, the pence call for no detailed comment, with the exception of the York coin attributed to Class IIa (Pl. XV, 3), which differs from the only published specimen, now in the collection of Mr. C. E. Blunt (illustrated in *BNJ* IX, Pl. IX, No. 28, p. 188, and *BNJ* XXVIII, p. 288). Although the crown does not have the broken central fleur usually found in this sub-class, the face, neck and hair resemble those of Class Id and, combined with the 'shaped' crown and reversed ns, place it early in Class II. Of particular interest is the spacing of the mint name EBOR/ACI, which the writer has not seen on any other penny. Since Class II pence were the first coins on which the legend CIVITAS EBORACI was used, this may well be the earliest penny of the class, the tentative spacing being quickly superseded by the more balanced EBO/RACI which appears on all

subsequent pence. It is interesting to note another example of exploratory spacing contained in this hoard, where both CEST/RIE and CES/TRIE are found on Chester coins of Class IIIg, again the first class of that mint.

The early date of the hoard supplies corroborative evidence for the recent re-arrangement by Irish numismatists of Allen's classification of the Edwardian coinage of Ireland. Since their conclusions are in course of publication, the following is a synopsis of the relevant part.

Types B, C, D & E are all dated prior to 1285 A.D.

Type F is contemporary with Fox Class VII.

Type G is dated 1295 A.D.

Type A is dated c. 1300 A.D.

It will be seen that the principal amendment is the placing of Type A at the end of the coinage c. 1300 A.D. and this is supported by its absence from the hoard, in which B, C & D (Pl. XV, 7-10) are all represented. No inferences can be drawn from the absence of the rare Type E from a hoard containing so few Irish coins.

The Scottish content consists entirely of sterlings of the second coinage of Alexander III, ranging from Stewart, Class B to G with a preponderance of E to G. They are normal for a deposit of this date, but the proportion (10%) is large for a hoard from the South of England.

The Continental sterlings contain no unrecorded varieties, but it is interesting to note the presence of two obverse types, one with bust (Pl. XV, 12), the other with a double-headed eagle (Pl. XV, 11), on the coins of Gui de Dampierre, Count of Flanders.

ENGLAND

EDWARD I (1272-1307)

PENCE

Mint of Bristol

Fox Class	IIb	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
	IIIc.	Early H ¹ -2, Normal H-3.			...	...	...	...	5
	IIId	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
	IIIg.	Early S-3 (one reads HYYB), Late S-6.			9
									<hr/> 26

Abbatial Mint of Bury St. Edmunds

Fox Class	IVb	2
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Combined Regal & Archiepiscopal Mint of Canterbury

Fox Class	IIb	2
	IIIc	2
	IIId	2
	IIIf	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
	IIIg.	Late S.	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
	IVa-c.	(cf. Appendix)	...	...	...	...	...	...	23
	IVd.	Pellet before EDW., reverse uncertain.	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
	IVe.	One has pellet before TAS.	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
	Va	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
	Vb/a	(Pl. XV, 5)	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
									<hr/> 45

¹ *BNJ* XXXI, p. 81 - Table I (Burns A12), and Pl.V.2.

Mint of Chester

Fox Class	IIIg.	Early S both sides.	Read CEST/RIE and CES/TRIE.	2
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Episcopal Mint of Durham

Fox Class	IIb	3
	IIIc	1
	IIIe	3
	IIIg.	Late S both sides.	1
	IVb.	Pre-Bek. 1. m. Cross pattée.	...	...	...	...	...	1
								9

Mint of Lincoln

Fox Class	IIId.	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
	IIIg	Early S both sides—3, Late S/early S—1, Late S both sides—1.	...	...	...	...	...	5
								10

Mint of London

Fox Class	Ic	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
	Id.	One with annulet on breast—Abbot of Reading's die.	...	...	...	...	...	6
	IIa	(Pl. XV, 2)	...	...	...	...	...	6
	IIb	...	...	...	...	...	...	12
	IIIa	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
	IIIb	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
	IIIc.	Transitional ² —1, Early H ¹ —2, Normal H—9.	...	...	...	...	...	12
	IIId	...	...	...	...	...	...	17
	IIIe.	Late S/Early S—2. Late S both sides—1.	...	...	...	...	...	3
	IIIg.	Early S both sides—4, Early S/Late S—1, Late S/Early S—7, Late S both sides—7.	...	...	...	...	...	19
	IVa-c.	(cf Appendix)	...	...	...	...	...	38
	IVd.	Pellet before EDW. and CIV.—14, Pellet before EDW.—2, Pellet before CIV.—2	18
	IVe	3
	Va	(Pl. XV, 4)	2
	Vb	1
								141

Mint of Newcastle-on-Tyne

Fox Class	IIIe	1
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Royal Mint of York

Fox Class	IIa	(Pl. XV, 3)	1
	IIb	3
	IIIb	3
	IIIc.	Early H ¹ —1, Normal H—2 (One has N with pellet centre).	3
	IIIe	8
								18

Archiepiscopal Mint of York

Fox Class	IIIc	1
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¹ *BNJ* XXXI, p. 81 – Table I (Burns A12), and Pl.V.2.

² *BNJ* XXXI, p. 81 – Table I (Burns A11), and Pl.V.1.

HALFPENCE

Mint of London

Fox Class	IIIc	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
	IIIg	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
									<hr/> 3

Mint of Bristol

Fox Class	IIIc	2
-----------	------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	---

Mint of Lincoln

Fox Class	IIIc	3
-----------	------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	---

Mint of Newcastle-on-Tyne

Fox Class	IIIc.	Classified by Fox Bros as IIIc (Pl. XV, 6)					1
-----------	-------	--	--	--	--	--	-----	-----	---

Royal Mint of York

Fox Class	IIIb	1
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FARTHINGS

Mint of London

Fox Class	Ia	1
	Ic	2
	II	10
	IIIg	3
	IV	1
									<hr/> 17

Mint of Bristol

Fox Class	IIIc	1
-----------	------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	---

IRELAND¹

EDWARD I (1272-1307)

PENCE

Mint of Dublin

Allen Type	B (var.). Letters: Obv: Curved sides. Rev.: Straight sides (Pl. XV, 7) ...	1
	C	1
	D/C	1
	D	2
		<hr/> 5

Mint of Waterford

Allen Type	D.	One has stop between DNS and HYB and mint name spelt VATERFOR (Pl. XV, 9)	3
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¹ D. F. Allen. 'Boyton Hoard.' *NC* 1936.

HALFPENCE

Mint of Dublin

Allen Type C	(Pl. XV, 8)	1
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Mint of Waterford

Allen Type C	(Pl. XV, 10)	2
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SCOTLAND¹

ALEXANDER III (1249-1286)

STERLINGS—SECOND COINAGE (c. 1280-1286+)

Burns Group I (All reverses have 4 mullets of 6 points).

Class	I	(B. 142), S. Class B	...	...	...	...	...	1
	I/III	(B. 145), S. Class B/C	...	...	...	...	...	1
	III (or II),	S. Class C (or A)—reads ALEXSANDER DEI-G'RA(B-)	...	...	...	...	...	1
	III	(B. 152), S. Class C	...	...	...	...	...	1

Burns Group II (Reverses have combinations of mullets of 5 or 6 points and stars of 7 points).

Class	I/II,	S. Class D/E. 24 points (B. 161)	...	...	...	...	...	1
	I/III,	S. Class D/F, G. 25 points (B. 164)	...	...	...	...	...	1
	II,	S. Class E. 20 points (B. 166), 24 points (B. 169)—2,	...	...	...	...	...	7
		26 points (B. 170)—3, 28 points (B. 172).	...	...	...	...	...	2
	II/I,	S. Class E/D. 26 points (B. 174).	...	...	...	...	...	3
	II/III,	S. Class E/F, G. 25 points (B. 177)	...	...	...	...	...	5
	III,	S. Class F, G. 24 points (B. 178/184—3, B. 198—2)	...	...	...	...	...	2
	III/I,	S. Class F, G/D. 23 points (B.—, Dover 395; Third head),	...	...	...	...	...	7
		24 points (B. 182/7)	...	...	...	...	...	1
	III/II,	S. Class F, G/E. 24 points (B. 183/9—1, B. 203—3), 25 points	...	...	...	...	...	7
		(B. 190), 26 points (B. 191), 26 points (B. 204)	...	...	...	...	...	1
	Anomalous—	Unlike S. Classes H or I. Perhaps a counterfeit	...	...	...	...	...	33

CONTINENTAL².

COUNTS OF FLANDERS

GUI DE DAMPIERRE (1280-1305)

Chautard 8, Gaillard 154.	Alost mint (Pl. XV, 11)	...	...	...	...	1
Chautard 10, Gaillard 156 bis.	Alost mint (Pl. XV, 12)	...	...	...	...	1

COUNTS OF HAINAULT

JEAN II D'AVESNES (1280-1304)

Chautard 26, Chalon (1st Supplement) 36.	Valenciennes mint	2
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COUNTS OF GUELDRES

RAINALD I (1271-1326)

Chautard 462, van der Chijs Pl. XXVIII, 1.	Arnhem mint (Pl. XV, 13)	1
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¹ E. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland*. I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*.

² J. Chautard, *Imitations des monnaies au type esterlin* etc. V. Gaillard, *Recherches sur les monnaies*

des Comtes de Flandres R. Chalon, *Recherches sur les monnaies des Comtes de Hainaut* P. O. van der Chijs, *De munten der voormalige Graven en Hertogen van Gelderland*.

The writer would like to record his gratitude for the generous assistance given by fellow numismatists. Mr. Peter Woodhead kindly provided the photographs which illustrate this paper and details of independent classifications of the major part of the English pence made by himself and Mr. G. Tatler. These corrected several attributions of very corroded pence and corroborated the remaining classifications. He has also considerably assisted in the preparation of the Appendix, both with suggestions and by kindly providing coins from his collection for examination. The Scottish sterlings were examined by Mr. Ian Stewart whose classification has been incorporated *in toto*. Details of the redating of the Irish coins were furnished by Mr. Michael Dolley and Miss Gay van der Meer has provided the references for the continental coins.

For the purpose of inclusion in future editions of the *Inventory*, the hoard may be summarised as follows.

BROUGHTON near STOCKBRIDGE, Hampshire, 1964.

332 A English, Irish, Scottish and Foreign. Deposit c. 1290. \pm 1.

ENGLAND (255 pence, 10 halfpence, 18 farthings). Edward I—Bristol. Pence—Fox cl. II, 8; III, 18. Halfpence—III, 2. Farthings—III, 1. Bury St. Edmunds. Pence—Fox cl. IV, 2. Canterbury. Pence—Fox cl. II, 2; III, 12; IV, 28; V, 3. Chester. Pence—Fox cl. III, 2. Durham. Pence—Fox cl. II, 3; III, 5; IV, 1. Lincoln. Pence—Fox cl. III, 10. Halfpence—III, 3. London. Pence—Fox cl. I, 8; II, 18; III, 53; IV, 59; V, 3. Halfpence—III, 3. Farthings—1, 3; II, 10; III, 3; IV, 1. Newcastle-on-Tyne. Pence—Fox cl. III, 1. Halfpence—III, 1. York (Royal). Pence—Fox cl. II, 4; III, 14. Halfpence—III, 1. York (Archiepiscopal). Pence—Fox cl. III, 1. IRELAND (8 pence, 3 halfpence) Edward I—Dublin. Pence—Allen cl. B, 1; C, 1; D/C, 1; D, 2. Halfpence—C, 1. Waterford. Pence—Allen cl. D, 3. Halfpence—C, 2. SCOTLAND (33 sterlings) Alexander III—Second Coinage. Burns gp. I cl. I, no. 142, 1; I/III, no. 145, 1; III or II, no. —, 1; III, no. 152, 1. gp. II, cl. I/II, no. 161, 1; I/III, no. 164, 1; II, no. 166, 1; no. 169, 2; no. 170, 3; no. 172, 1; II/I, no. 174, 2; II/III, no. 177, 3; III, no. 178/184, 3; no. 198, 2; III/I, no. 182/7, 1; no. — (Third head), 1; III/II, no. 183/9, 1; no. 203, 3; no. 190, 1; no. 191, 1; no. 204, 1; Counterfeit ?, 1. FOREIGN (5 sterlings): FLANDERS: Gui de Dampierre—Alost, Ch. 8, 1; 10, 1. HAINAULT: Jean II d'Avesnes—Valenciennes, Ch. 26, 2. GUELDRES: Rainald I—Arnhem, Ch. 462, 1.

J. J. North in *BNJ* xxxv (1966), pp. 120–7

Disposition: dispersed on the London market. There is no record of any container.

ILLUSTRATIONS Plate XV

1. Type 1d penny. LONDON mint. Variety with 'chubby' face.—Although this appears to have the broken central fleur of Class IIa it is due to faulty striking. (cp. *BNJ* xxviii, p. 290, fig. 2e).
2. Type IIa penny. LONDON mint. Bust as Class Ic.
3. Type IIa penny. YORK mint. (cf. p. 120).
4. Type Va penny. LONDON mint.
5. Type Vb/a penny. CANTERBURY mint.
6. Type IIIe halfpenny. NEWCASTLE mint.
7. Irish Type B penny. DUBLIN mint. Variety with curved sided/straight sided lettering.
8. Irish Type C halfpenny. DUBLIN mint.
9. Irish Type D penny. WATERFORD mint. Stop between DNS and HYB. Mint name spelt VATERFOR'.
10. Irish Type C halfpenny. WATERFORD mint.
11. FLANDERS. Gui de Dampierre. Double-headed eagle. ALOST mint.
12. „ „ Facing bust. ALOST mint.
13. GUELDRES. Rainald I. ARNHEM mint.

APPENDIX



CROWN 1



CROWN 2



CROWN 3



CROWN 4



HAIR 1



HAIR 2



A.20.

A.21.

A.19.

A.22.

A.23.

The criteria given by the Fox brothers for the classification of Groups IVa-c have been found by most numismatists to be insufficiently detailed to enable a precise identification to be made. In accordance with recent practice, they have been grouped together in the preceding lists.

The arrangement by Burns¹ is superior and most coins of IVa-c can be attributed with certainty to one of his groups. Using this as a basis within the framework of the Fox brothers classification, the following arrangement is suggested.

The established criterion for the division between Groups III and IV has become the change in contractive marks from small crescents to commas, although the latter are found on some coins which otherwise bear all the characteristics of IIIg and are probably late examples of this Class. In order to preserve the established classification, such coins are treated as Transitional. Fortunately no IIIg coins of the provincial mints appear to bear these marks.

Burns Types A. 19-21 are grouped together in Class IVa, but the chronological order is uncertain. They are all linked by the style of the hair (Hair 1), but there are variations in the irons used. A.20 with the face resembling that of Class IIIg and a distinctive crown (Crown 1) is the most commonly found and has been designated the substantive type. Burns has remarked on the connections between this and A.21—very large contractive marks and large letters—and he grouped the two together as large and small bust varieties of the same type. The anomaly is A.19, which has little to connect it with the other two types except a similarity in the hair and a resemblance to the crown of A.21. It is scarce and Burns regarded it as following Class IIIg.

¹ *The Coinage of Scotland*, 1887, i, pp. 186-220 & pl. A. (cf. *BNJ* xxxi, pp. 80-82.)

The descriptions given for IVa do not cover every variety as there are a few coins which only display some of the features. They will, however, normally be found to have sufficient distinctive points to enable them to be placed under the general classification of IVa.

GROUP IV.—Contractive marks: commas. Always Late s.

Transitional—Similar to IIIg, but contractive marks are small commas.

Substantive—Face resembling IIIg with neat hair (Hair 1) and new crown (Crown 1—Central fleur normally within inner circle). Thick initial cross. Very large contractive marks touching tail of R. Large lettering, especially s. Low-barred A. (Burns A.20. Fox Pl. vi, 2).

Variety 1—Similar to substantive type, but larger face and Crown 2 (crude version of Crown 1)—(Burns A.21, Fox Pl. vi, 3).

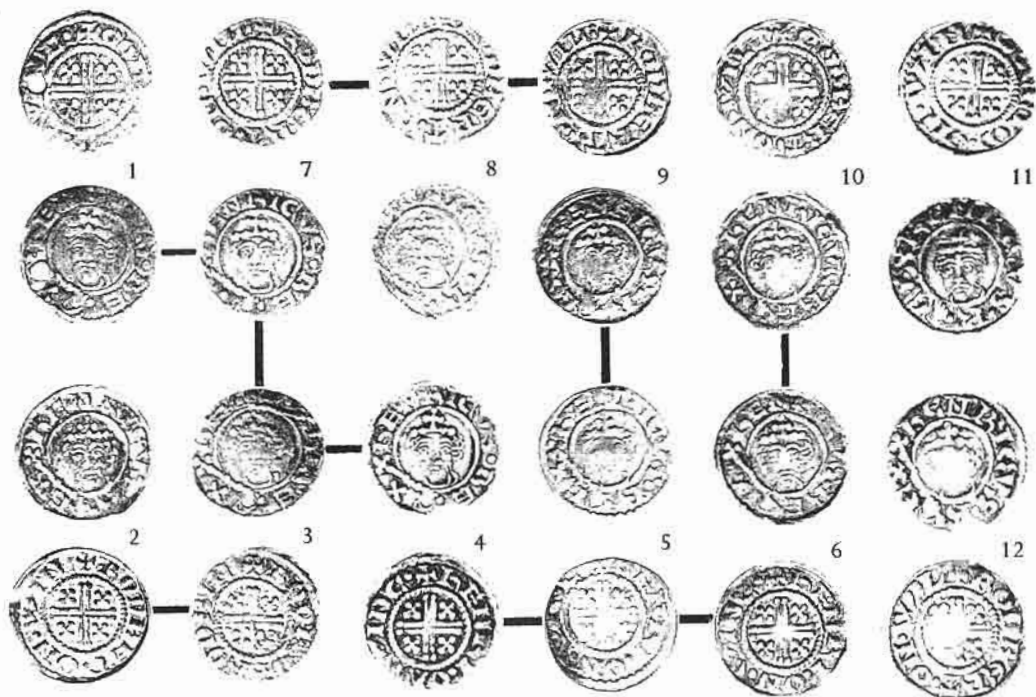
Variety 2—Large square face with Hair 1. Crown resembles Crown 2 but has larger central fleur which normally cuts the inner circle. Smaller contractive marks and normal sized lettering. A is sometimes unbarred. (Burns A.19).

(b) Oval smiling face with bushy hair (Hair 2) and new crown (Crown 3—central fleur usually just cuts inner circle).—(Burns A.22, Fox Pl. vi, 9). Another version, probably later, has a pinched and lined face with a pointed chin. The hair is struck very close to the face often overlapping the cheeks and the drapery is frequently in one piece. The crown is often cruder with indistinct details and the flatter central fleur does not always cut the inner circle. (Fox Pl. vi, 7 & 10).

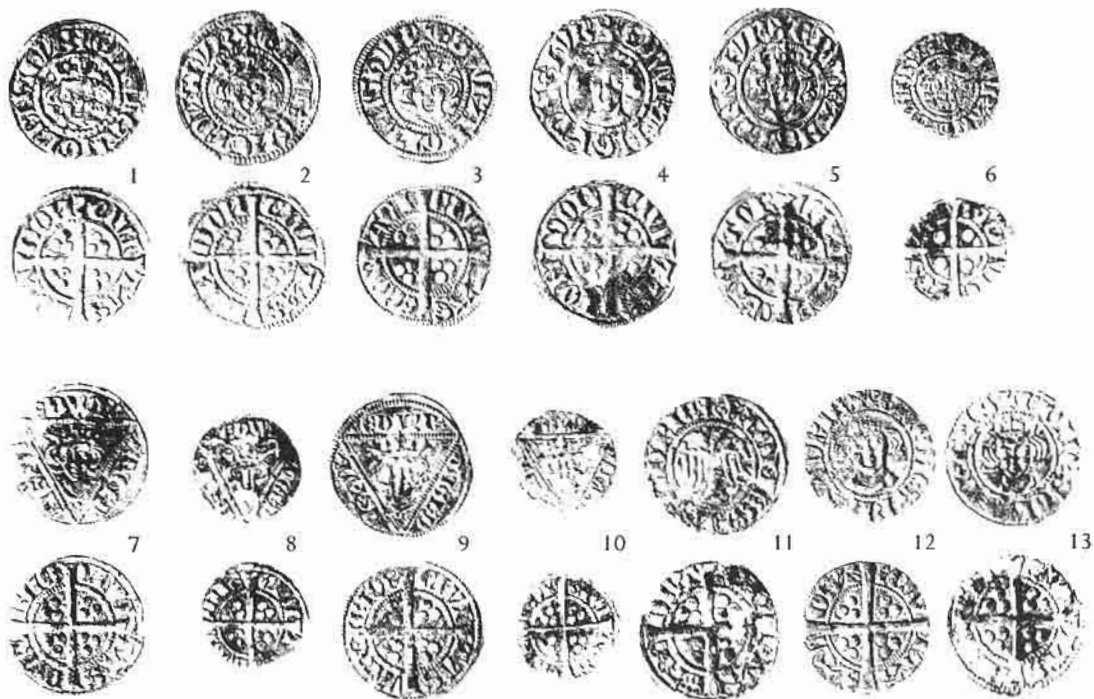
(c) Face resembling Class IVd. Crown 4 (Central fleur is normally taller and completely cuts the inner circle). Letter A usually unbarred. (Burns A.23, Fox Pl. vi, 11).

A breakdown of the hoard's IVa-c coins by the above classification gives the following result.

	CANTERBURY	LONDON
IVa.	4	11
IVb	17	24
IVc	2	3
TOTAL	<hr/> 23 <hr/>	<hr/> 38 <hr/>



SHORT CROSS COINS OF WINCHESTER AND WILTON



THE RENFREW TREASURE TROVE, 1963

By PETER WOODHEAD and IAN STEWART

ON the 19th February 1963 a hoard of 674 coins of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was discovered in Bell Street, Renfrew¹ by a labourer digging a narrow trench for laying a cable, and was quickly investigated on the spot by Mr. Cyril Rock, Director of Paisley Museum and Art Galleries. The coins consisted of sterlings and their fractions, with one exception all of the British Isles, and were contained in an earthenware jug.

The discovery, which was promptly notified to the authorities, was declared Treasure Trove, and a substantial reward representing the market value has been paid to the finder. The coins were submitted by the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer to Mr. Robert B. K. Stevenson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, who invited us to make a detailed analysis and report on the hoard, and to whom we are most grateful for having enabled us to study the coins and for providing information about the discovery. We would also like to record our indebtedness to Mr. Stevenson and to Mr. C. E. Blunt for making helpful comments on the text of this paper.

The contents may be summarised as follows:—

ENGLISH	<i>Pence</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.	<i>Total</i>	
Edward I } Edward II }	451	25	3	479	479
SCOTTISH					
Alexander III	128	4	1	133	
John Baliol	1	1	—	2	
Robert Bruce	5	4	7	16	
	134	9	8	151	151
IRISH					
Edward I } Edward II }	32	11	—	43	43
CONTINENTAL	1	—	—	1	1
					674

The vessel in which the coins were contained is a squat jug of reddish colour with splashes and spots of olive-green lead glaze and a grey core. Its sagging base is 5" in diameter and there had been a single strap handle joining the shoulder (diameter 6½") to the neck (diameter 3½"). Most of the handle and part of the vessel is missing. The weathered edges of old fractures suggest that the jug had been severely damaged long ago, presumably without the hoard itself being disturbed. It was only a few inches from the surface.

There is some indication that a portion of the hoard was unofficially dispersed before it came within the control of the authorities. There is no reason to suppose that any strays

¹ Grid reference NS 506677.

were selected with a numismatic bias or that their removal may have distorted the structure of the hoard as presented in this paper.

Evidence for Dating

Perhaps the most important feature of this hoard is the evidence it provides for the date of the coinage of Robert Bruce, whose reign extended nominally from 1306 to 1329. His coins are comparatively rare, show little variation in style and much die-linking, and have the appearance of being the output of a short period. Hitherto there is no certain record¹ of their having been contained in a hoard datable on the evidence of English coins to within the limits of his reign, and it has only been possible to say that it is highly unlikely that Bruce's coins were struck before 1314—the year of Bannockburn and of the capture of some important strongholds by the Scots.

The evidence for the date of deposit of the hoard is provided by the two latest English coins which are pence of Fox Group XVa of Durham and London mints respectively. The latest Irish coins are of a type issued just prior to the closure of the Dublin mint some eighteen years before.² The single Continental sterling cannot be dated within close limits.

In their authoritative paper³ on the English Edwardian series the Fox brothers treated the varieties issued during the reign of Edward II as steps in a progressive evolution of style due to replacement of punches. They did not generally attempt to assign absolute dates to each group that they designated. Indeed, in most instances this is not possible. The dating of their groups can only be inferred by correlating changes in episcopal marks at Durham and known dates for closing of the London and Canterbury mints with groups which show the effect of these events. On this basis group XVa can be broadly located between 1317 and 1323, as the Durham mint provides evidence that group XIII was being issued in the first half of 1317⁴ and probably for most of that year, while coins of XVc of the Canterbury mint, which closed in 1323, are nearly as frequent as those of London, which closed in 1324. (see Table I).

By comparing relative percentages of coins of groups XIV and XVa–c recorded in finds with the reasonably complete data on annual mint output that is available (see Table I), we can date group XVa to within considerably narrower limits.

¹ There is doubt as to whether coins of Robert were present in the hoard found at Tutbury, Staffs., in 1831, in which the English element may also have ended with XV. In his report in Vol. XXIV of *Archaeologia* (1831, pp. 141 ff.), Hawkins wrote "The only Scotch coins are of Kings Alexander and John, but some of Robert Bruce are said to have been found". There is an anonymous *Descriptive Catalogue* published not long afterwards at Derby, in which three of the 553 items listed are sterlings attributed to Robert Bruce. The entries for two of them (Nos. 202–3) bear this out, but the third (No. 204) is an accurately described Perth penny of Robert II (1371–90). At the time the standard work on Scottish coins was de Cardonnel's *Numismata scotiae*, 1786, which correctly attributed *Robertus* groats to Robert II, but illustrated a Perth penny as of the Bruce. It seems possible, therefore, that coins thought to have been struck for the historically glamorous Robert Bruce may have been added to the parcel. It is difficult otherwise to explain how a coin struck probably at least half a century later

than any other coin in the hoard could come to have been included in the list. Whether the hoard was likely to have contained coins of his reign as Hawkins mentioned, and whether Nos. 202–3 of the catalogue could be two of such coins genuinely found at Tutbury, is a separate question. Since coins of Bruce are rare, and those in the Renfrew hoard, which ends with English coins of XVa, were of very recent issue, it would not in fact be surprising if they had failed to be represented in a hoard buried in the 1320's in the English Midlands.

² We are indebted to Mr. D. W. Dykes for the information on which this statement is based and which will be included in a paper shortly to be published by him.

³ *BNJ*, vols. vi, vii, ix, and x (1910–14).

⁴ Bishop Beaumont received the temporalities of Durham in April 1317 and coins of group XIII with his privy mark, a lion and lys, are well known as are also those of his predecessor Bishop Kellawe which are distinguished by a crozier forming one arm of the reverse cross.

PERIOD	LONDON				CANTERBURY		
	No. of Months	Output	% of Total	Monthly Rate	Output	% of Total	Monthly Rate
		£		£	£		£
1. x. 1315 to 20. vi. 1316	8.75	270	—	31	916	—	105
21. vi. 1316 to 28. ix. 1316	3.25	173	—	53	1,661	—	511
29. ix. 1316 to 11. iv. 1317	6.5	1,100	—	169	4,060	—	625
12. iv. 1317 to 30. ix. 1317	5.5	5,856	—	1,065	10,834	—	1,970
1. x. 1317 to 30. ix. 1318	12.0	13,021	30.3	1,083	21,482	32.9	1,790
1. x. 1318 to 30. ix. 1319	12.0	8,622	20.1	732	17,662	27.0	1,472
1. x. 1319 to 13. viii. 1320	10.5	8,060	18.8	767	13,272	20.4	1,264
14. viii. 1320 to 30. ix. 1320	1.5	410	0.9	273	2,590	4.0	172
1. x. 1320 to 30. ix. 1321	12.0	9,209	21.5	767	5,549	8.3	462
1. x. 1321 to 6. x. 1322	12.25	1,175	2.7	95	3,764	5.8	307
7. x. 1322 to 30. ix. 1323	11.75	794	1.9	67	1,077	1.6	91
1. x. 1323 to 30. ix. 1324	12.0	1,614	3.8	134	—	—	—
TOTALS:							
1. x. 1317 to 30. ix. 1324		42,905	100.0		65,396	100.0	

TABLE 1—Amounts struck into pennies showing mean monthly rates.

It is convenient to use the Montrave hoard¹ as our source of data on the proportional survival rates of adjacent groups because it was deposited sufficiently long after the issue of the coins in question to ensure that anomalies will have been ironed out and provides sufficient examples of each group to give meaningful figures.

The Montrave hoard gives the following relative percentages of groups XIV and XV:

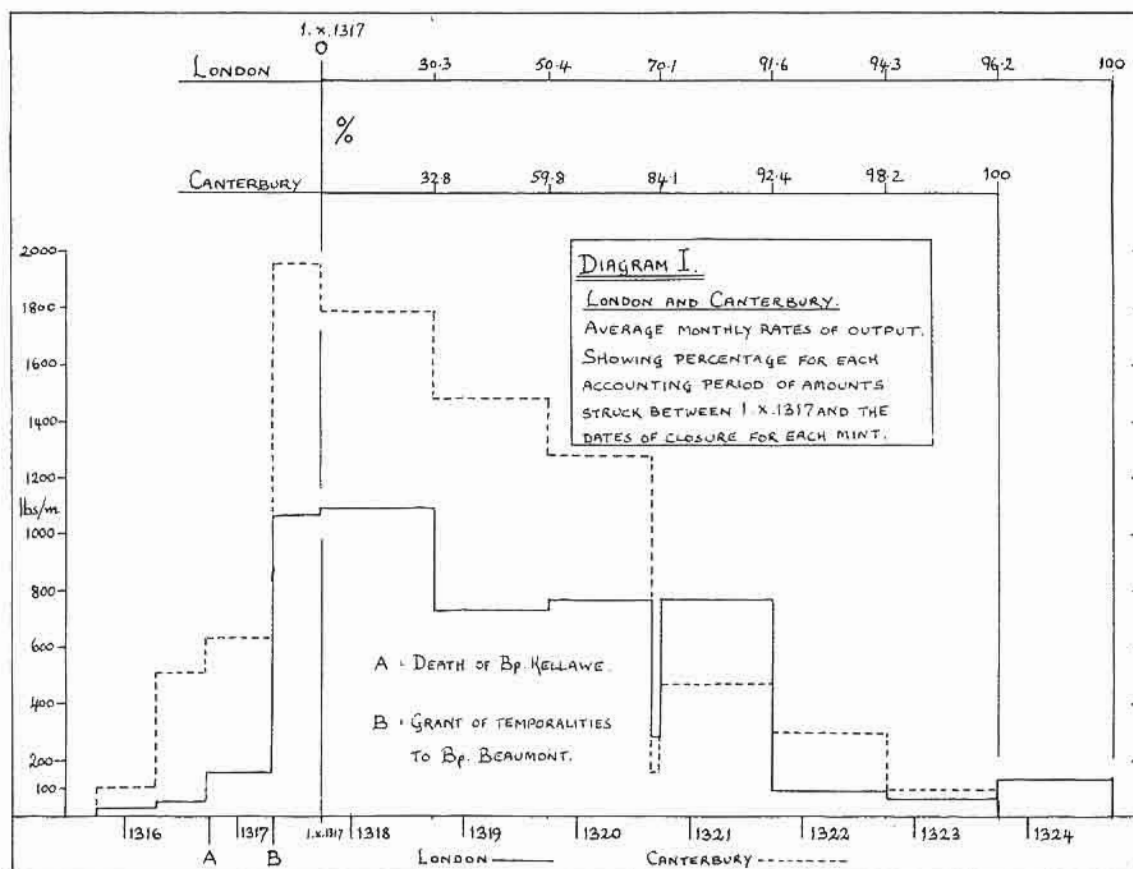
	XIV	%	XVa-c	%	Total	%
Canterbury	180	84	35	16	215	100
London	103	76	33	24	136	100

In Diagram I, which is derived from the figures in Table 1, we show at the top the percentage proportions of the respective issues of pennies of London and Canterbury at stages representing the mint accounting periods. We have adopted October 1st, 1317 as an arbitrary date for the introduction of group XIV. The reason for choosing this date is that it is the commencement of the first accounting period after April 1317 when group XIII was still in the course of production at Durham. It may be subject to an error of a few months either way².

¹ J. D. A. Thompson *Inventory of British Coin Hoards* (cited as 'Thompson') no. 272. Note the Inventory summary omits the 29 Scottish sterling of John Baliol. The English portion was described in considerable detail by Edward Burns in *The Coinage of Scotland* (1887), i, pp. 186-220 and pl. A. A summary giving a concordance with the Fox classification was published by G. L. V. Tatler and B. H. I. H. Stewart in *BNJ*, vol. xxxi, pp. 80-7.

² If it was valid to assume that the output of the Durham mint (for which no surviving accounts have yet been found) is scaled to that of London and Canterbury (for which accounts survive), then a date for the introduction of XIV could be estimated by first calculating the proportion of post- to pre-April 1317 XIII's (on the basis of the change of episcopal mark at Durham) and then comparing the

proportion of post-April 1317 XIII's and that of all succeeding groups up to the closure of the London and Canterbury mints with the mint output figures. Survival proportions indicate that there is an approximately constant ratio between groups XIII and XIV at Durham on the one hand and at London and Canterbury on the other, but this does not apply to XVa-c. Presumably one reason is that Durham went on striking after the other two mints closed. This uncertainty together with insufficient dependable data on survivals makes it impossible to place any reliance on the above calculation, although, in fact, an attempt to apply it yielded results in line with expectations. Progressive accumulation and refinement of evidence from hoards and other sources should allow such computations to be of increasing value in the future.



Using the Montrave proportions given above, and assuming equal monthly output within each accounting period, 76% of the London bullion coined into pence would have been issued before the beginning of February 1321, and 84% of the Canterbury bullion by the end of September 1320, a difference of four months. There are a number of sources of error which need to be taken into account. The precise date for the introduction of group XIII is uncertain. Output must have varied within accounting periods, although over a period of several years this should tend to average out. Also we cannot assume, when evolution rather than administrative control was responsible for a new group, that it was necessarily introduced at different mints simultaneously.

In the light of the foregoing we consider that group XVa may have been introduced about the end of 1320 or a little earlier. As this is a comparatively scarce group and as XVe had ceased to be struck by October 1323 in the case of Canterbury and October 1324 in the case of London, it seems likely that group XVa was struck only for a matter of months, particularly since the output at both mints was diminishing after 1320 (see Diagram I). The absence of coins of group XVb, which is common, points to the conclusion that the hoard was probably deposited in 1321.

Coins of Robert Bruce are sufficiently rare for their absence from English hoards, which could be dated within the limits of his reign, not to be decisive evidence that they had not been struck by the date of the burial of such hoards¹. The three pennies of Bruce in the British Museum which have hoard provenances all come from deposits later than 1329². Renfrew now produces a number (disproportionately high in comparison with the earlier Scottish coins) of freshly struck coins of Bruce, with several die-links or identities in the case of all three denominations. This, therefore, is a strong indication that coins of Robert Bruce began to be struck shortly before 1321.

The main castles in Scotland, including Berwick, Edinburgh, Perth, Roxburgh, and Stirling, had been taken by the English in 1296 and only Perth (1312) was available to the Scottish king as a mint before 1314. Berwick, which was probably the main mint of Alexander III and perhaps of Baliol also and had been striking English coins for Edward II until recaptured by the Scots in 1318, may be considered a likely mint for Bruce's coins. In other towns the mints had by that time probably been closed for at least twenty and perhaps thirty years. In 1296 Edward I had immediately converted the Berwick mint for his own use and it would be natural that the one mint that was already in use at the time should be commissioned by the Scottish king when he gained possession of the town.

Like the *Moneta Regis* and associated halfpence and farthings of David II³ the coins of Bruce have mullets of five points on the reverse. Although four mullets of six points appears to represent Berwick on the Alexandrian issues this does not preclude the attribution of Bruce's coins to the Berwick mint since there are indications that the system of differentiating the coins of the various mints by the number of points to the stars or mullets on the reverse had lapsed by the time that coins began to be struck in the name of John Baliol.

The coins of Bruce are of much better style and workmanship than the Berwick coins of Edward II to which under this arrangement they would be immediately consecutive. There is, however, reason to think that foreign engravers may have been employed at the Scottish mint at this period. Triple colon stops, as on the Bruce penny no. 663, and also the *Moneta* formula, are common features on continental coins of the period. There is, in addition, the close resemblance between Robert Bruce's penny and the Alost denier of Robert de Bethune, Count of Flanders (1305-22)⁴.

If Bruce's coins began just before 1321, it seems likely that their issue followed the pattern of the English mints, being at a reasonable level until 1323 but tailing off completely in the later 1320's. London, Canterbury, York and Bury St. Edmunds each recommenced the issue of pennies on a very small scale during the early years of Edward III, but from 1330 to 1335 the English had struck virtually only halfpence and farthings, and only relatively few of them. Berwick, after its return to English hands in the Halidon Hill campaign of 1333, also struck some halfpence and farthings. There are no pennies of David II which can be allotted to the early years of his reign (before c. 1351), but the *Moneta Regis* and associated halfpence and farthings may perhaps have been issues of the Berwick mint between 1329 and 1333.

¹ E.g. Whittonstall (*Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., xli (1963), pp. 65-83); Bootham (*BNJ*, vol. xxvii (1955), pp. 281-93); Boyton (Thompson 51); Wyke (Thompson 382).

² Beaumont (Thompson 38), Carsphairn (Thompson 76), and Montrave (Thompson 272).

³ E.g. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, fig. 43.

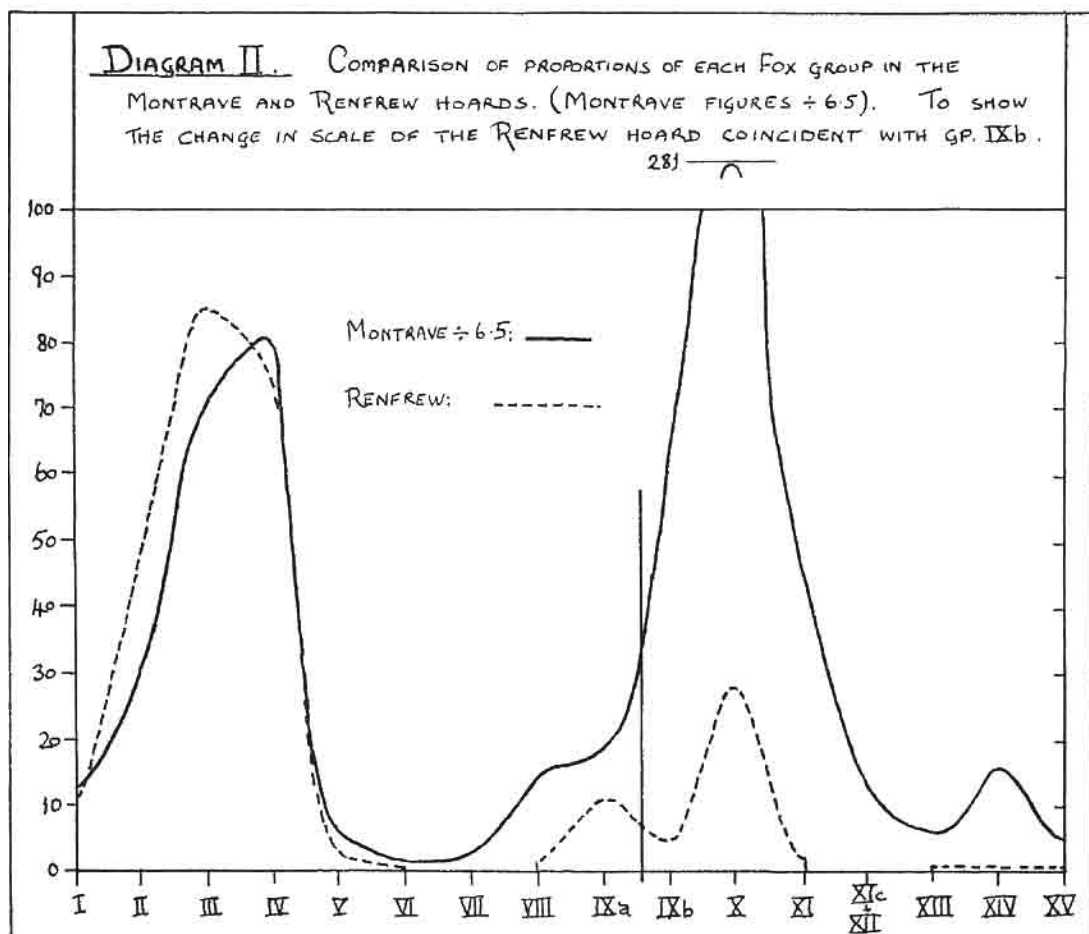
⁴ Burns, i, p. 230; cf. figs. 226 and 226A. Burns suggests that the two may have been executed by the same hand. Count Robert died in 1322 and the similarity can thus be considered as an added indication that Bruce's coinage had begun before that date, since presumably the Scottish coin was the prototype.

Hoard Structure

The structure of the Renfrew hoard offers several points of interest. These can be conveniently considered under the following heads:

- proportions of different classes;
- proportions of halfpence and farthings to pence;
- geographical proportions (different mints and different national coinages).

In considering these aspects of this particular hoard it is desirable to have some standards of comparison and for this purpose a number of hoards deposited around the same period are used. These are: Bootham (c. 1326), Boyton (c. 1325), Blackhills (c. 1320), and Aberdeen 1886 (c. 1324)¹. Not all these are recorded in sufficient detail to be useful in all respects and not all are entirely consistent with each other. Nevertheless, they provide an indication of what are normal or abnormal proportional relationships. In addition we continue to use the evidence of the huge Montrave hoard which, in consequence of its size and of being deposited at a later date, provides an important guide to determining ratios between types and mints.



¹ Bootham (*BNJ*, vol. xxvii (1955), pp. 281-93). Boyton (Thompson 51). Blackhills (Thompson 45). Aberdeen 1886 (Aberdeen 4—Thompson 4).

Proportions of Different Classes

This feature is considered first because it reveals an unusual characteristic of the hoard which has a bearing on its other aspects.

A comparison of the relative proportions of each Fox group in the English portion reveals a substantial and well defined change in scale coincident with the issue of Fox group IXa—say the end of 1299 or the start of 1300. This is illustrated in Diagram II by comparison with the Montrave hoard. The Montrave figures have been scaled down by a factor of 6.5 which produces comparable figures for groups up to and including IXa. It can be seen that from IXb onwards the Renfrew figures drop to about one twelfth of what would be expected on the basis of the earlier coins.

The most likely explanation is that the Renfrew hoard incorporates as its greater part a savings hoard completed in late 1299 or early 1300 which had few, if any, subsequent additions until the final date of deposit when cash at hand was added immediately before burial. It could, for example, have been a legacy kept for 20 years as a nest egg by a tradesman or merchant, to which was added in an emergency the owner's ready money. This may well have contained a substantial proportion of halfpence and farthings.

On the basis of 62 post-1300 English pennies in the cash element, it is reasonable to assume that some (perhaps 30 or 40) of the pre-1300 pennies were not part of the original savings hoard although they cannot now be differentiated. However, it is likely that most if not all of the halfpence and farthings, English, Scottish and Irish, were part of the currency addition.

The general condition of the coins is good, even in the case of the early ones, and this favours a substantial savings component. Although the number of post-1300 English coins is rather too few to allow a firm conclusion to be made, the average condition of these is rather less good and certainly no better than the condition of the earlier coins. This, too, is consistent with the late addition of a currency element to a savings hoard.

The Irish element bears out the above conclusions, as with the exception of a single coin it falls into the period before 1299. The single later penny belongs to the period 1300 to 1302 and evidence from other hoards would lead us to expect a greater number of these—say, around ten—had the bulk of the hoard been accumulated after 1300.

<i>Burns Classes</i>	I	I/II	I/III	II/I	II	II/III	III/I	III/II	III	<i>Total</i>
<i>Group I</i>										
4 × 6 rev. only	13	—	3	—	1	—	2	—	6	25
<i>Group II/I mule</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
<i>Group II</i>										
Rev. 4 × 5 (20 pts.)	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	3
3 × 5, 1 × 6 (21 pts.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 × 5, 2 × 6 (22 pts.)	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
1 × 5, 3 × 6 (23 pts.)	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	3
4 × 6 (24 pts.)	2	1	1	—	8	—	5	9	24	50
3 × 6, 1 × 7 (25 pts.)	4	—	2	—	—	—	6	—	1	13
2 × 6, 2 × 7 (26 pts.)	7	2	—	4	5	1	2	4	2	27
1 × 6, 3 × 7 (27 pts.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 × 7 (28 pts.)	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	3

TABLE 2—*Varieties of regular Alexandrian sterling in the Renfrew hoard according to the Burns classification.*

GROUP:	I				II				III				IV				V		VI		VII		VIII		IX		X				XI			XII	XIII	XIV	XV				TOTAL						
MINT	a	b	c	d	a	b	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	a	b	c	d	e	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	c	d	e	f	a	b	c					a	b	c	d				
BRISTOL					7				11	5			7																																	30	
BURY ST. E									1				2	2												1			1			1														8	
CANTERBURY					2				6	2			8	2	12		17	6	1							2		1	1	3			1				1	1								66	
CHESTER																																															
DURHAM					2				1	1		2	5		1	4										1	1		2			3					1	1								25	
EXETER																																															
HULL																																															
LINCOLN										1	6		1																																	8	
LONDON					3	8	12	36	1	6	22	15		42	9	26	2	25	13	2	1		1			1	1	1	5	5	3	2	13	4	1		2			1	1	1				275	
NEWCASTLE												4															1																				5
YORK					2				11	3		17															1																			34	
TOTALS					3	8	12	49	1	18	45	28	23		65	11	41	6	42	19	3	1		1			1	1	1	9	7	5	3	18	5	1		7			2	3	2				451

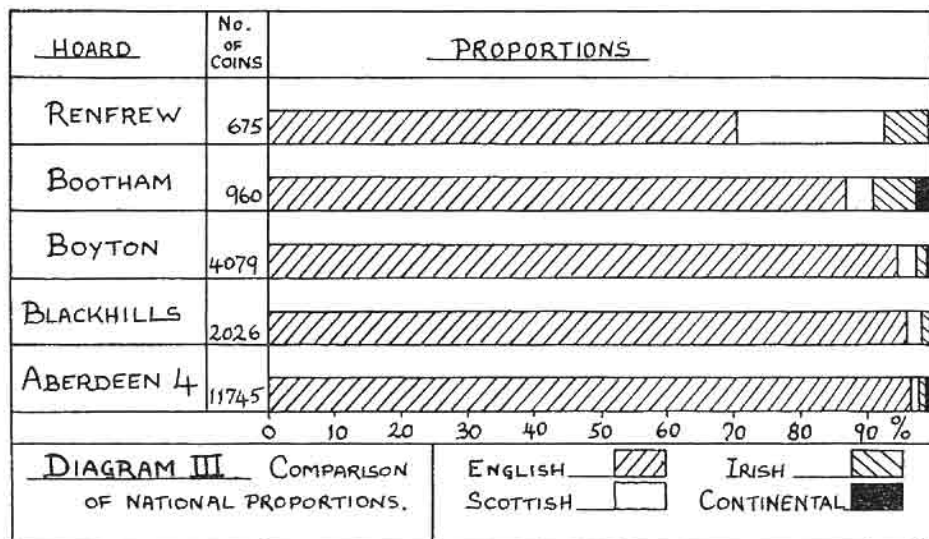
TABLE 3

VARIETIES OF ENGLISH PENCE IN THE RENFREW HOARD ACCORDING TO THE FOX CLASSIFICATION. MULES TABULATED BY OBERSEDIE ; DETAILS IN LIST.

The coins of Alexander III and John Baliol, falling as they do within the period before 1299¹, do not call for special note as regards their proportions, except that more than a single sterling of John Baliol might have been expected in a parcel composed just before 1300. Sufficient evidence is not yet available to establish the general frequency of occurrence of the several classes and reverse types (i.e. mints) of the Alexandrian sterlings, but those in Renfrew do not appear to differ very noticeably from the normal pattern. The number of each variety contained in the hoard and classified according to Burns are set out in Table 2.

Proportions of Halfpence and Farthings to Pence

The Renfrew hoard is truly remarkable in this respect. Bootham and Boyton, both well recorded finds and larger than Renfrew, contained none at all. Nor, according to available records, did Aberdeen 1886 and Lochmaben². The Blackhills find contained one halfpenny and one farthing and the Dover hoard³, deposited c. 1296 and in many respects untypical, contained one halfpenny and three farthings in a total of 630 coins (which also included two English groats and a number of French gros tournois and their fractions). It is, however, interesting to note that the Broughton hoard deposited c. 1290 and published by Mr. North elsewhere in this volume contains 13 halfpence and no less than 17 farthings out of a total of 333 coins.



Geographical Proportions

For the hoard as a whole it is evident from Diagram III that the proportions of Scottish and Irish coins to English are exceptionally high. The main reason for this lies in the fact that the total of outputs of the various national coinages, as also of the several mints, belong to the periods before and after 1300 in different proportions. Consequently, any attempt

¹ The suggestion (R. H. M. Dolley and B. H. I. H. Stewart, 'The 1953 Bootham Treasure Trove', *BNJ* xxvii (1955), pp. 284-5) that the two Burns groups of Alexander sterlings might be pre- and post-Baliol cannot stand; the Dover hoard (*BNJ* xxviii (1956), pp. 149-68) buried c. 1295 contained

all the main varieties, and both groups are also present in the recent Broughton hoard (buried c. 1290, published elsewhere in this volume by Mr. J. J. North).

² Lochmaben is Thompson 239.

³ *BNJ*, vol. xxviii (1956), pp. 147-67.

to analyse the geographical structure of the hoard without taking into account changes in proportion coincident with that date will lead to erroneous conclusions. We propose to consider the earlier and larger section of the hoard first.

Of the English coins in the first section London, as is normal, accounts for about 60% of the total with 238 coins out of a total of 391. Canterbury is rather under-represented by 14% as against the more normal 18%. York has 8% as compared to an average of 5%. Other mints are within 1% or 2% of the norm with the sole exception of Berwick.

Berwick, of which there are a penny and a halfpenny only, seems to be substantially under-represented although other hoards show exceptionally wide variations in their proportions for this mint¹ and for this reason an average percentage has less meaning. The Renfrew hoard provides evidence to support the view expressed by Mr. Blunt in his paper on the Berwick mint² that his type IV—which is the most abundant Berwick group—can be associated with the recoinage of 1300. Fox group IXb is the type associated with this recoinage at all other English mints and is the first group to fall into the second and sparser portion of this hoard. Treating the earlier portion of the Renfrew hoard as a separate accumulation which was terminated in late 1299 or early 1300, we have, in the presence of a halfpenny of Blunt type IIIb and in the absence of the much commoner coins of the following Blunt type IV, some evidence pointing towards the introduction of the latter after the introduction of Fox group IXa. The low representation of Berwick pence in the hoard thus appears more reasonable³.

The Irish pence which, with one exception, were all struck before 1300 are in reasonable proportion to the first section of the hoard. The relatively high proportion of Irish to English in the total hoard is thus explained by the abnormal smallness of the later section. Had the latter been on the same scale as the early section, the abundance of the common Fox groups IXb and X would have made the Irish proportion appear much smaller.

The high proportion of Scottish to English can also, in part, be explained in the same way, since of the total of 134 Scottish pence 129 are pre-1300. However, even if the post-1300 element of the hoard was in natural proportion to the early part, the Scottish coins would still be several times more abundant than average, although very wide variations occur.

The later section of the hoard from 1300 onwards (i.e. from group IXb in the English series) is comparatively small. Of the English portion the only notable divergence from normal is the Canterbury share which at 16% is substantially less than the 30% which is usual. There are no pence of Berwick but this is not surprising because, at most, we would not expect more than one or two of this mint. The only Scottish coins struck between 1300 and 1321 are those of Robert Bruce and the proportion of these in the hoard is abnormally high—presumably as a result of some local and special condition close to the time of the hoard's deposit. The single Irish penny which falls into this section must have been struck between 1300 and 1302 and this representation is normal.

From the foregoing it will be seen that, while the proportion for each section of the hoard of English to Irish is not unusual, the proportion of Scottish to both is high. In general there is little difference in national contents whether a hoard is found in England or Scotland⁴ but

¹ For example: Boyton, 68 out of 4147 coins (1.64%); Bootham, 9 out of 908 coins (0.99%); Blackhills, 70 out of 2026 coins (3.48%); Aberdeen 1886, 204 out of about 12,000 coins (1.71%); as compared to Renfrew, 2 out of 674 coins (0.29%).

² *NC*, 5th ser., vol. xi (1931), p. 28 ff.

³ For example, the Boyton hoard contained 23 Berwick coins of Blunt types prior to IV out of a total of 68 of that mint.

⁴ As for example, Boyton (Wilts) with a Scottish element of 2.2% and Blackhills (Kirkcudbrightshire) with a Scottish percentage of 2.1.

the provenance of this particular hoard was a relatively remote part of Scotland at the time, which could possibly account for a variation from the usual.

Finally, one might have expected more than a single continental coin. A probable explanation of this is the exclusion of continental coins from the savings—a likely occurrence as savings hoards are subject during their composition to selection against doubtful elements. A single continental coin in relation to the smaller, later, currency section of the hoard is a reasonable proportion and the date bracket for the coin itself (1303–29) well suits this possibility.

THE COINS

English

The English portion includes a few rarities which we have thought it useful to illustrate. Amongst those from the London mint are a specimen of the variety Group Id with an annulet on the king's breast (Pl. XIII, No. 1). This is the type that is said to have been struck in London for the Abbot of Reading to whom the king granted the use of a die.¹

We have also illustrated a penny of group Ic on which the words ANGL' and REX have been transposed in the obverse legend (Pl. XIII, No. 2)—a curious and apparently unrecorded variety but unlikely to be of any special numismatic significance.

An unusual variety is a mule of Group IIb/III (Pl. XIII, No. 3). This is identifiable as such by the form of the letter A on the reverse which, as was remarked by the Fox brothers², undergoes a substantial change in style coincident with the introduction of group III.

There is a sprinkling of the rarer groups of the early and mid 1290's. The single penny of the scarce group VIb is illustrated (Pl. XIII, No. 4). There is also a halfpenny which is undoubtedly a mule of Group VI/IVc (Pl. XIII, No. 26) and a second halfpenny which, although a poor specimen, appears to be a mule of groups VI/VII (Pl. XIII, No. 27). The obverses of these two halfpence are very similar, and the small neat lettering and style of face are characteristic of group VI. The reverse of the VI/IVc mule is exactly that normally found with the group IV halfpence preceding the variety with three pellets on the king's breast and a single pellet in the reverse legend (group IVe). No halfpence have yet come to light which show the characteristics of the pence of group IVd; hence the attribution to IVc is preferred. The reverse of the group VI/VII mule shows the typical double-barred x and the composite s of group VII.

Group VI was apparently unknown in halfpence to the Fox brothers although specimens of the type have been known to specialists in the series for some years. The two mules here described thus clearly establish the place of the variety in the halfpenny series and suggest that group V, also not recorded by Fox, may never have been struck in this denomination.

We illustrate two London farthings attributed to groups VIII and IX respectively (Pl. XIII, Nos. 37 and 38). These read E R ANGL DN on the obverse, that of group IX showing the unbarred 'pothook' form of the letter N which is peculiar to the later pence of that variety.

From the English provincial mints we illustrate the rare Newcastle halfpenny of Fox group IIIe of which the hoard contains a single specimen (Pl. XIII, No. 28).

Finally, in the English series, we illustrate the two coins of group XVa, the latest coins in the hoard, of London and Durham respectively (Pl. XIII, Nos. 46 and 47).

¹ The basis for the attribution to the Abbot of Reading is stated by the Fox brothers in *BNJ*, vol. vii (1911), p. 20.
² *BNJ*, vol. vii (1911), p. 27.

Irish

In the Irish section of the hoard we make reference both to the classification established by Mr. Derek Allen to deal with the Irish section of the Boyton hoard¹ and, additionally, to a new classification worked out by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley which is shortly to be published in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy. We are most grateful to him for the opportunity of being able to use this classification (prefixed in our list by the letter D) in advance of publication as it embodies new evidence and amends that of Mr. Allen in several important respects.

We have illustrated the rare Cork penny of which the hoard contains one specimen (Pl. XIII, No. 5). The remainder of the Irish coins are not remarkable except for two curious pieces, one a large fragment, which must both be regarded with considerable suspicion. The complete coin is of rough workmanship, apparently an imitation of Allen C, Dolley 2 (Pl. XIII, No. 6). The other is an Irish/London mule of which the obverse appears to be irregular whereas the reverse could be acceptable as genuine of Fox group VIb or early VIII (Pl. XVIII, No. 7). The metal of this coin looks base and it must be considered as a contemporary imitation, at least until further evidence turns up.

Scottish

In *The Scottish Coinage* a connotation by letters was adopted for the classification of Alexandrian sterling with the aim of simplifying reference to the different groups and classes of Burns's arrangement. Of his group I, classes I, II, and III were designated S. classes B, A and C respectively. Burns presumably based his order on the similarities between A and C: the occasional stops in the obverse inscriptions of C, the small neat head, the lettering and the forms *Alexsander* and *G'ra* which Burns (p. 167) considered intermediate between A and C (he does not illustrate the variety). On the other hand, the unusual forms of obverse inscription on class A set it apart, and it is on reverse dies of this class that *Escossie Rex* occurs instead of *Rex Scotorum* which is the title of Scottish kings on their coins henceforward. Class A is also much the scarcest of all. For these reasons it may stand at the head of the series. However, class B is also unusual in its lettering and style. One of the ideas behind introducing letters to denote classes was to avoid the implications of strict sequence which a numerical scheme suggests. It remains completely obscure whether there is any chronological significance behind the classes: they are so closely muled that they appear to be a tightly connected set of issues, covering in the main probably only a relatively short period of time for the purposes of recoinage. In the absence of a hoard buried during the course of the main issues, it is doubtful whether the coins themselves offer sufficiently decisive evidence to solve the problem of sequence.

Of Burns's group II, classes I and II were labelled D and E in *The Scottish Coinage*. An attempt to divide class III into two by separating coins with serified letters (class F) from those with plain stemmed lettering (class G) is not entirely satisfactory; it would perhaps be more appropriate to separate the coins with Burns's 1st and 2nd heads (see below) from those with his 3rd head, but to consider how this corresponds with the change of lettering and whether it is a sufficiently valid distinction to justify separate classes is beyond the scope of this paper. In what follows, B. group II, class III is referred to as S. class F, G; the other of Burns's classes by their single letter designation, unless the point at issue is one directly involving Burns's classification.

¹ NC, 5th Ser., vol. xvi (1936), p. 115 et seq.

The individual Scottish pence do not call for much comment. The hoard contains several fine examples of S. class B and three markedly different styles of head which occur are illustrated (Pl. XIII, Nos. 8, 9, 10). Two X's can be differentiated, one plain (Pl. XIII, No. 9), the other *patée*, almost *potent* (Pl. XIII, No. 8).

There was only one specimen (Pl. XIII, No. 11) of S. class A, which is rare. There were, however, two specimens of the scarce coin, S. class D with 24 point reverse (Pl. XIII, No. 12). With the same reverse, the D/F, G mule, unknown to Burns, is represented by a coin from the same dies as Dover hoard no. 402 (Pl. XIII, No. 13).

The two anomalous, probably posthumous, coins of Alexander, S. class H, are of great interest (Pl. XIII, Nos. 17 and 18). They are both from the same 24 point reverse die of B. gp. II, cl. III (S. class F, G) as B. fig. 207 and its die duplicate, Dover hoard no. 515. The two obverse dies, however, are those of B. figs. 205 and 206 respectively, both of which coins have reverse dies of B. gp. II, cl. II (S. class E), with 26 points. This suggests that the reverses of classes E and F, G were being used with anomalous obverses of class H at much the same time, and moreover that the different points on the reverse had ceased to indicate different mints. Probably a few reverse dies with 26 points found their way back to the 24 point mint after the end of the main Alexandrian recoinage: this seems to be the explanation also of the Baliol/Alexander mule with a 26 point reverse.

We have thought it worthwhile to illustrate typical examples of some features noted by Burns as of occasional occurrence, but which are not, or are not fully, clarified by his plates. The plain cross as initial mark on class D is represented by several coins in the hoard (e.g. no. 611, Pl. XIII, No. 19)¹; the cross slightly *patée* or *potent* on class F, G is more rarely found (no. 575, Pl. XIII, No. 14). A wedge-tailed α very occasionally occurs on dies of the same class, perhaps coming from a punch of which the curled tail has broken away (nos. 583-4, Pl. XIII, No. 15). A good example (no. 614) of the unusual head which occasionally occurs on muled obverses of class D is illustrated (Pl. XIII, No. 20).

The hoard contained three specimens of the variety with 28 point reverse which is much less rare than hitherto supposed. It is of much more frequent occurrence than the 21 and 27 point reverses of which the former was represented in each of the Dover and Bootham hoards by one coin, and the latter not at all.

Renfrew raises again the usual problem inherent in classifying Alexandrian sterlings according to Burns, that of differentiating the heads on his group II, class III (S. class F, G). The third head is fairly distinctive, being tall with a long neck and narrow hair, much like the head of group II, class II (S. class E). Burns described his first head as 'the same as the larger head (in group I, class III), except that it does not show the very small curl, represented by a pellet or a crescent, in front of the larger curls.' In accordance with this definition, he identified a mule (B. fig. 181) between an obverse of group II, class III (S. class F, G) and a reverse of group I, class I (S. class B). Another coin of this kind from Renfrew, no. 585, is illustrated here (Pl. XIII, No. 16)².

Burns distinguished a small and a larger head on coins of his group I, class III (S. class C). The former is a development of the head on class II (S. class A), whilst the latter (B. fig. 157)

¹ There is a coin in N.M.A. (from Kinghornie, 1901) with plain cross/potent—the opposite combination to No. 610.

² In the catalogue of the Dover hoard (p. 160) a comparable coin, no. 363, is said to be illustrated as pl. ix, 10, but the figured coin is no. 362, the *rare C/A* mule. Pl. ix, 14 is stated in error in the

catalogue to be one of nos 396-9, but its reverse has 25, not 24, points and it thus apparently represents one of nos. 516-20. I was away at sea during the preparation of this paper for the press and was unable to check the coins for illustration against the text.—I.S.

is (except for the small curl) of the general style of group II, with a more pronounced back sweep of the hair. Since the lettering of class III in each group is very similar, there seems to be no very sharp dividing line between class III of group I and class III of group II. Indeed, we suspect that it is not really possible to define a true coin of group II, class III, 1st head as opposed to a group II, class III, 1st head/group I, class III mule; the case of B. fig. 181 is more obvious because the reverse class can only belong to group I.

Because of uneven striking or wear it is often difficult to determine whether a coin has the obverse of class III of group I with the larger head or the 1st head of class III of group II; it is not even certain that Burns's criterion of the presence or absence of the little curl is a proper one. It is also difficult to comprehend from his plates what Burns meant by his vague description of his 2nd head, which 'is distinguished from the first by a slight difference in the sweep of the curls, and by having the profile usually rather more aquiline.' The safest course is to combine the two, while noting that some slight variety occurs, and that one style looks back to his class III of group I.

The four halfpence of Alexander are of the commonest variety, but the farthing is new. Its obverse has a colon after *Rex* (like Drabble, lot 796); on the reverse it has mullets of six points in only two angles of the cross—in this differing from any other known farthing¹—mullets in the other two quarters having apparently been at one stage punched into the die but subsequently erased.

Neither the penny nor the halfpenny of Baliol (both are of the second issue) requires comment. Of Bruce one of the pennies is of the scarce variety with triple colon stops on the obverse. The farthings are notable for their great rarity and it is surprising to find as many as seven in one hoard, a number which perhaps doubles the amount of known examples. They are closely die-linked amongst themselves, five in the hoard being from the same obverse die (nos. 668–72); the obverse of the sixth (no. 673) is the same as the Hunterian specimen (S. fig. 39), and of the fragmentary seventh (no. 674) the same as the Coats of Ferguslie coin (B. fig. 228), the Ashmolcan's and Mr. Stewart's (ex Dakers and Cochran-Patrick: this coin is presumably the 'fractured' specimen purchased by Gray at the 1873 Advocates sale). The reverse dies of nos. 668–71 and 673 are the same and shared with the National Museum of Antiquities coin, Richardson No. 5, which has a fourth obverse die.

The new farthings of Bruce enable known specimens to be arranged by dies in the following pattern:

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| <i>Obverse A</i> | (sceptre-head far from crown; crescent does not reach top of upright in <i>D</i> of <i>Dei</i>) |
| Reverse a | Renfrew 668–71 (Pl. XIII, Nos. 40–3); British Museum ex Murdoch 45. |
| Reverse b | Renfrew 672 (Pl. XIII, No. 44). |
| <i>Obverse B</i> | (two cross-bars close together on sceptre below tip of nose) |
| Reverse a | Renfrew 673 (Pl. XIII, No. 45). |
| Reverse c | Hunterian Museum (Stewart Pl. III, 39). |
| <i>Obverse C</i> | (two bars apart on sceptre) |
| Reverse d | N.M.A (Burns fig. 228); Stewart ex Dakers 333 ex Cochran-Patrick 177 ex 1873 Advocates 31(?). |

¹ Alexander farthings normally have four mullets of six points, but Cochran-Patrick published a specimen in *NG*, 3rd ser., vol. vi (1886), p. 40, with a star of seven points in one quarter. Burns had died by the time that the note was written, and its absence from *The Coinage of Scotland* may have been because the first volume was already in the

press when Cochran-Patrick acquired the coin. Unfortunately he did not illustrate it, and since it did not appear in his sale catalogue (Sotheby, March 30th–31st, 1936), and its present whereabouts are unknown, the existence of the variety must be in some doubt.

- Reverse b Ashmolean Museum (Corpus Christi College, Halifax donation).
 Reverse ? Renfrew fragment 674.
Obverse D (one bar across sceptre)
 Reverse a N.M.A. (Richardson 5, fig. 28), ex Advocates.

SUMMARY

A summary of the hoard in the *Inventory* format could be as follows:

RENFREW, Bell Street, 19 February 1963.

674 A English, Irish, Scottish and Foreign. Deposit: c. 1321.

ENGLAND (479 pennies, halfpence and farthings):

Edward I pennies—Berwick, Blunt cl. ia, 1. Bristol, Fox cl. iib, 7; iiic, 12; iiid, 4; iiig, 7. Bury St. Edmunds, iiic, 1; iiig, 2; ivb, 2; xb, 1; xe, 1. Canterbury, iib, 2; iiic, 6; iiid, 2; iiig, 8; iva, 2; ivb-c, 12; ivd, 17; ive, 6; va, 1; ixb, 2; xb, 1; xc, 1; xd, 3. Durham, iib, 2; iiib, 1; iiic, 1; iiie, 2; iiig, 5; ivb, 1; ivb, moline, 4; ixb, 1; xa, 1; xd, moline, 2. Lincoln, iiic, 1; iiid, 6; iiig, 1. London, ic, 3; id, 8 (one with annulet on breast); iia, 12; iib, 35; iib/iii, 1; iia, 1; iiib, 6; iiic, 22; iiid, 15; iiig, 42; iva, 9; ivb, 26; ive, 2; ivd, 25; ive, 11; ive/ive, 1; ive/ivd, 1; va, 2; vb, 1; vib, 1; viia, 1; viib, 1; ixa, 11; ixb, 5; xa, 1; xa/ixb, 4; xb, 1; xb/ixb, 1; xb EDWR'R, 1; xc, 2; xd, 13; xe, 4; xf, 1. Newcastle, iiie, 4; xa, 1. York, Royal mint, iib, 2; iiib, 11; iiic, 1; iiie, 17; ixb, 1. Archbishop's mint, iiie (all with quatrefoil on reverse only), 2. Edward I halfpennies—Berwick, Blunt cl. iiib, 1. Bristol, Fox cl. iiic, 1. Lincoln iiic, 1. London, iiic, 11; iiig, 6; vi/ive, 1; vi/vii, 1; x, 1. Newcastle, iiie, 1. Edward I farthings—London, Fox cl. viii, 1; ix, 1; x, 1. Edward II pennies—Bury St. Edmunds, Fox cl. xib, 1; Canterbury, xib, 1; xiii, 1; xiv, 1. Durham, xib, crozier, 3; xiv, 1; xva, 1. London xib, 2; xiii, 1; xiv, 1; xva, 1.

IRELAND (43 pennies and halfpence): Edward I pennies—Cork, Allen-/Dolley 5, 1. Dublin, C/1, 3; C/2, 13; F/mule2/3, 2; F/3, 1; Hi/6, 1; imitations C/2, 1; Irish/London mule, 1. Waterford, C/2, 9. Edward I halfpence—Dublin, C/2, 2. Waterford, C/2, 9.

SCOTLAND (151 pennies, halfpence and farthings): Alexander III 2nd coinage (c. 1280-6) pennies, 128; halfpence, 4; farthings, 1. John Baliol, 2nd coinage *Rex Scotorum*, penny, 1; halfpenny, 1; Robert Bruce, pence, 5; halfpence, 4; farthings, 7.

FOREIGN (1 sterling): PORCIEN. Gaucher de Chatillon, Yves, Ch. 3.

Discovery and Disposition: The hoard was found a few inches below the surface, in a squat earthenware jug, by workmen digging a trench. A few coins probably strayed. Listed coins to National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Paisley Museum, Renfrew Town Council and Mr. Stewart.

LIST OF COINS

ENGLAND		22-5	IIId	4
<i>Mint of Berwick-on-Tweed</i>		26-30	IIIg-early s	5
PENNY		31-2	IIIg-late s	2
1	Blunt type Ia	1		30
HALFPENNY				30
2	IIIf	1	HALFPENNY	
		—	IIIc	1
		2 2		1
<i>Mint of Bury St. Edmunds</i>				
<i>Mint of Bristol</i>				
PENCE		34	IIIc (Die B) ¹	1
3-9	Fox group IIb	7	IIIf (Die Q)	2
10-21	IIIc	12	IVb (Die I and Die O)	2

¹ References under the Bury St. Edmunds mint to dies by letter refer to the die analysis of the pre-1300 coins of this mint currently being undertaken by Mr. G. L. V. Tatler. It was possible to show

these coins to Mr. Tatler and we are grateful for his permission to preserve his identifications in this report even though the results of his investigation have yet to be published.

39	Xb	1	Bishop Kellawe	
40	Xc Bust C Crown 3 ¹	1	128-30 XIb	3
41	XIb	1	Bishop Beaumont	
		—	131 XIV	1
		8	8 132 XVa (Pl. XIII, no. 47)	1
<i>Mint of Canterbury</i>				25
	PENCE			25
42-3	IIb	2	<i>Mint of Lincoln</i>	
44-9	IIIc	6	PENCE	
50-1	IIId	2	133 IIIc	1
52-4	IIIg-early s	3	134-9 IIId	6
55-9	IIIg-late s	5	140 IIIg early s	1
60-61	IVa	2	HALFPENNY	
62-73	IVb-c	12	141 IIIc	1
74-90	IVd	17		
91-5	IVc with CAN.TOR	5		9
96	IVc with CIVI.TAS	1		9
97	Va	1	<i>Mint of London</i>	
98-9	IXb	2	PENCE	
100	Xb	1	142-3 Ic one with stop after	
101	Xc Bust A Crown 1	1	DNS.	2
102-3	Xd Bust B Crown 2	2	144 Ic reads EDW ANGL'REX	
104	Xd Bust C Crown 3	1	DNS.hyb (Pl. XIII,	
105	XIb	1	no. 2)	1
106	XIII	1	145-51 Id	7
107	XIV	1	152 Id annulet on breast	
		—	(Pl. XIII, no. 1)	1
		66	66 153-56 IIa face of Id	4
			157-64 IIa second face	8
			165-199 IIb	35
<i>Mint of Durham</i>				
	PENCE		200 no coin	
Bishop de Insula			201 IIb/III mule (Pl. XIII, no. 3)	1
108-9	IIb	2	202 IIIa	1
110	IIb	1	203-8 IIIb	6
111	IIIc	1	209-30 IIIc	22
112-3	IIIe one with pellet		231-45 IIId	15
	on crossbar of the		240-62 IIIg early s	17
	letter N	2	263-87 IIIg late s	25
114-8	IIIg-late s	5	288-96 IVa	9
119	IVb	1	297-322 IVb	26
Bishop Bek			323-4 IVc	2
120-3	IVb (cross moline as		325-49 IVd	25
	initial mark and		350-60 IVe	11
	at commencement		361 IVe/IVc mule	1
	of rev. legend)	4	362 IVc/IVd mule	1
King's Receiver			363-4 Va	2
124	IXb no star on bresat	1	365 Vb	1
125	Xa reads DVRENE	1	366 VIb (Pl. XIII, no. 4)	1
Bishop Bek restored			367 VIIa	1
126-7	Xd Bust B Crown 2	2	368 VIIIb	1

¹ References to bust and crown varieties in Fox group Xc-f at Bury St. Edmunds, Canterbury, Durham and London refer to the subdivisions proposed in the Whittonstall hoard report (R. H. M. Dolley and G. L. V. Tatler in *Archaeologia Aeliana*

4th ser., vol. xli (1963)), and subsequently expanded with illustrations in 'Edwardian Sterlings in the Montrave Hoard' (G. L. V. Tatler and B. H. I. H. Stewart in *BNJ*, vol. xxxi (1963), pp. 80-7 and pl. v).

369-72	IXa ₁ star on breast ¹	4		<i>Royal Mint of York</i>					
373	IXa ₁ no star	1			PENCE				
374-8	IXa ₂ star on breast	5	447-8	IIb				2	
379	IXa ₂ no star	1	449-59	IIIb				11	
380-4	IXb one without star	5	460	IIIc				1	
385	Xa	1	461-77	IIIc				17	
386-9	Xa/IXb mule	4	478	IXb				1	
390	Xb	1							
391	Xb/IXb mule	1						32	32
392	Xb reads EDWR'N'	1							
393-4	Xc Bust A Crown 1	2		<i>Archiepiscopal Mint of York</i>					
395-6	Xd Bust B Crown 1	2			PENCE				
397-407	Xd Bust B Crown 2	11	479-80	IIIc quatrefoil on rev.					
408-11	Xe Bust C Crown 3			but not on obv.			2		2
	one reads hyb:	4							
412	Xf Bust C Crown 3				IRELAND				
	thick i.m.	1		<i>Mint of Cork</i>					
413-4	XIb	2			PENNY				
415	XIII	1	481	Allen-, Dolley 5 (Pl.			1		1
416	XIV	1		XIII, no. 5)					
417	XVa (Pl. XIII, no. 46)	1							
				<i>Mint of Dublin</i>					
	HALFPENCE				PENCE				
418-28	IIIc	11	482-4	C, 1				3	
429-30	IIIg-early s	2	485-97	C, 2				13	
431-4	IIIg-late s	4	498-9	F, 2/3				2	
435	VI/IVc mule (Pl. XIII,	1	500	F, 3				1	
	no. 26)		501	Hi, 6				1	
436	VI/VII mule (Pl. XIII,		502	Imitation of Allen C,					
	no. 27)	1		Dolley 2 (Pl. XIII,					
437	X	1		no. 6)				1	
			503	Imitation Irish/Lon-					
	FARTHING			don mule (frag-					
438	VIII (Pl. XIII, no. 37)	1		ment) (Pl. XIII,					
439	IX (Pl. XIII, no. 38)	1		no. 7)				1	
440	X	1							
					HALFPENCE				
		298	298	504-5	C, 2			2	
<i>Mint of Newcastle upon Tyne</i>									
	PENCE							24	24
441-4	IIIc one with pellet			<i>Mint of Waterford</i>					
	on crossbar of N in				PENCE				
	DNS.	4							
445	Xa	1	506-14	C, 2				9	
					HALFPENCE				
	HALFPENNY		515-9	C, 2 WATERFOR				5	
446	IIIc (Pl. XIII, no. 28)	1	520-3	C, 2 WATERFOR				4	
		6	6					18	18

¹ References to two sub-varieties of Fox group IXa (IXa₁ and IXa₂) apply to the well defined early and late forms of that group. IXa₁ is defined by a large plain initial cross, a tall centre fleur to the crown and a generally rather rough execution. IXa₂ coins are neater, have initial cross patée and employ

the lower more spread crown used on coins of group IXb. IXa₂ coins are invariably of large module as compared to IXb and never use the 'pothook' uprights in the letter *N* that is a feature of the latter group. It is intended to define and illustrate these varieties in a future paper.

SCOTLAND

Alexander III 2nd Coinage, c. 1280-86

Sterlings: Burns Group I, rev. 4 mullets of 6 points.

	<i>Burns</i>	<i>Stewart</i>			
	<i>Class</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>B. Fig.</i>	<i>Special Features</i>	<i>No.</i>
524-7	I	B	142	Plain x, GR'A. Broad head. (Pl. XIII, no. 9)	4
528-9	I	B	141	x patée, thin head. (Pl. XIII, no. 8)	2
530-2	I	B	142	Plain x, GRA. Medium head. (Pl. XIII, no. 10)	3
533-5	I	B	142	— Broad head	3
536	I	B	141	x patée, GRA. Thin head	1
537-8	I/III	B/C	146	x plain, GR'A. Broad head	2
539	I/III	B/C	145	— , GRA. Medium head	1
540	II	A	147A/148A	DEI:G'ETA. (Pl. XIII, no. 11)	1
541-2	III	C	151	Small head, GRA.	2
543-6	III	C	151	— , GRA	4
547	III/I	C/B	153	Small head, GRA', reverse x pattée	1
548	III/I	C/B	153	— , but GRA	1

Sterlings: Burns group II, reverses varied.

Reverse: 4 mullets of 6 points.

549-50	I	D	158A	Rare. (Pl. XIII, no. 12)	2
551	I/II	D/E	161		1
552	I/III	D/F, G	—	Same dies as Dover hoard 402 (Pl. XIII, no. 13)	1
553-60	II	E	169		8
561-74	III	F, G	178, 184	Burns 1st and 2nd heads	14
575	III	F, G	178, 184	—, but cross on obv. slightly potent. (Pl. XIII, no. 14)	1
576-7	III	F, G	178, 184	Closed c on rev.	2
578	III	F, G	178, 184	SEO	1
579-84	III	F, G	198	Burns, 3rd head; 2 exhibit wedge-tailed R on obv. (Pl. XIII, no. 15)	6
585	III/Gp. I, I	F, G/B	181	Mule between Burns groups; see text (Pl. XIII, no. 16)	1
586-8	III/I	F, G/D	182, 187	B. 1st, 2nd heads	3
589	III/I	F, G/D	182, 187	Plain cross on rev.	1
590	III/I	F, G/D	201A	3rd head	1
591-4	III/II	F, G/E	183, 189	1st, 2nd heads	4
595-8	III/II	F, G/E	203	3rd head	4
599	III/II	F, G/E	203	DEI'	1
600	Anomalous/ III	II	205/207	Obv. die = B. 205, R. die = B. 207 and next coin. (Pl. XIII, no. 17)	1
601	Anomalous/ III	H	206/207	Obv. die? = B. 206. R. = B. 207 and previous coin. (Pl. XIII, no. 18)	1

Reverse: 4 mullets of 5 points.

602-4	II	E	166	Extra pellet in 2nd qtr. and 2 in 4th qtr. D.ER	3
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Reverse: 2 mullets of 5 points, 2 of 6 points.

605	II	E	167	Rare reverse type (same dies as B. fig. 167 and Richardson 45)	1
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Reverse: 1 mullet of 5 (in 4th qtr.), 3 of 6 points.

606	II	E	168		1
607	III	F, G	199	3rd head	1
608	III	F, G	199	SEO	1

<i>Burns</i>	<i>Stewart</i>				
<i>Class</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>B. Fig.</i>	<i>Special Features</i>		<i>No.</i>
Reverse: 3 mullets of 6 points, 1 star of 7 points (in 4th qtr.).					
609	I	D	159	Cross potent mm., no pellets on crown	1
610	I	D	159	Mm. cross potent/plain	1
611-2	I	D	159	Mm. plain cross. (Pl. XIII, no. 19)	2
613-4	I/III	D/F, G	164	Unusual head (see B. p. 177). (Pl. XIII, no. 20)	2
615	III	F, G	179	1st or 2nd head	1
616-9	III/I	F, G/D	188	— do —	4
620-1	III/I	F, G/D	—	Third head, cf. Dover hoard 534. (Pl. XIII, no. 21)	2
Reverse: 2 mullets of 6 points, 2 stars of 7 points					
622-7	I	D	160	Stars in 1st and 3rd qtrs.	6
628	I	D	160	Obv. inner circle of large dots. (Pl. XIII, no. 22)	1
629-30	I/II	D/E	163	Stars in 2nd and 4th qtrs.	2
631-5	II	E	170		5
636-9	II/I	E/D	174		4
640	II/III	E/F, G	177A		1
641	III	F, G	186	Stars in 2nd and 4th qtrs.	1
642	III	F, G	—	Stars in 1st and 3rd qtrs. (Pl. XIII, no. 23)	1
643	III/I	F, G/D	188A	2nd head (same dies as B. fig.)	1
644	III/I	F, G/D	202	3rd head	1
645-6	III/II	F, G/E	191	2nd head	2
647-8	III/II	F, G/E	204	3rd head	2
Reverse: 4 stars of 7 points.					
649-51	II	E	172		3
652-5	Halfpence	As B. fig. 193; all different obv. dies; one a fragment.	(Pl. XIII, nos. 29-31)		4
656	Farthing	Obv.—REX: (cf. Drabble lot 796). Rev. SC OT OR VM, stars of six points in 1st and 3rd qtrs., erased stars(?) in 2nd and 4th qtrs. (Pl. XIII, no. 39)			1
<i>John Baliol, 1292-6. 2nd issue (smooth surface).</i>					
657	Sterling	As B.219 but GR ⁻ A; 4 mullets of 5 points.	(Pl. XIII, no. 24)		1
658	Halfpenny	As B.223, mullets of 6 points in 1st and 3rd qtrs.	(Pl. XIII, no. 32)		1
<i>Robert Bruce, 1306-29</i>					
659-62	Sterlings	As B.225, colon stops, unbarred A. (Pl. XIII, no. 25)			4
663	Sterling	Same dies as B.226, triple colon stops before and after DEI, colon after GRA			1
664-7	Halfpence	Obv. = B.227, with 2 different revs.; 2 from another pair of dies (= Richardson 1). (Pl. XIII, nos. 33-6)			4
668-71	Farthings	4 from same dies (Pl. XIII, nos. 40-3)			4
672		Same obv. but different rev. (Pl. XIII, no. 44)			1
673		Rev. as 668-71, but different obv. (Pl. XIII, no. 45) (obv. = S. fig. 39)			1
674		Two fragments of a coin from another obv. (obv. = B.228)			1

151 151

CONTINENTAL
COUNTY OF PORCIEN

Mint of Yves

DENIER

675	Gaucher de Chatillon, 1303-29.	Chautard 3		1
				<hr/>
				1 1
				<hr/>
				674

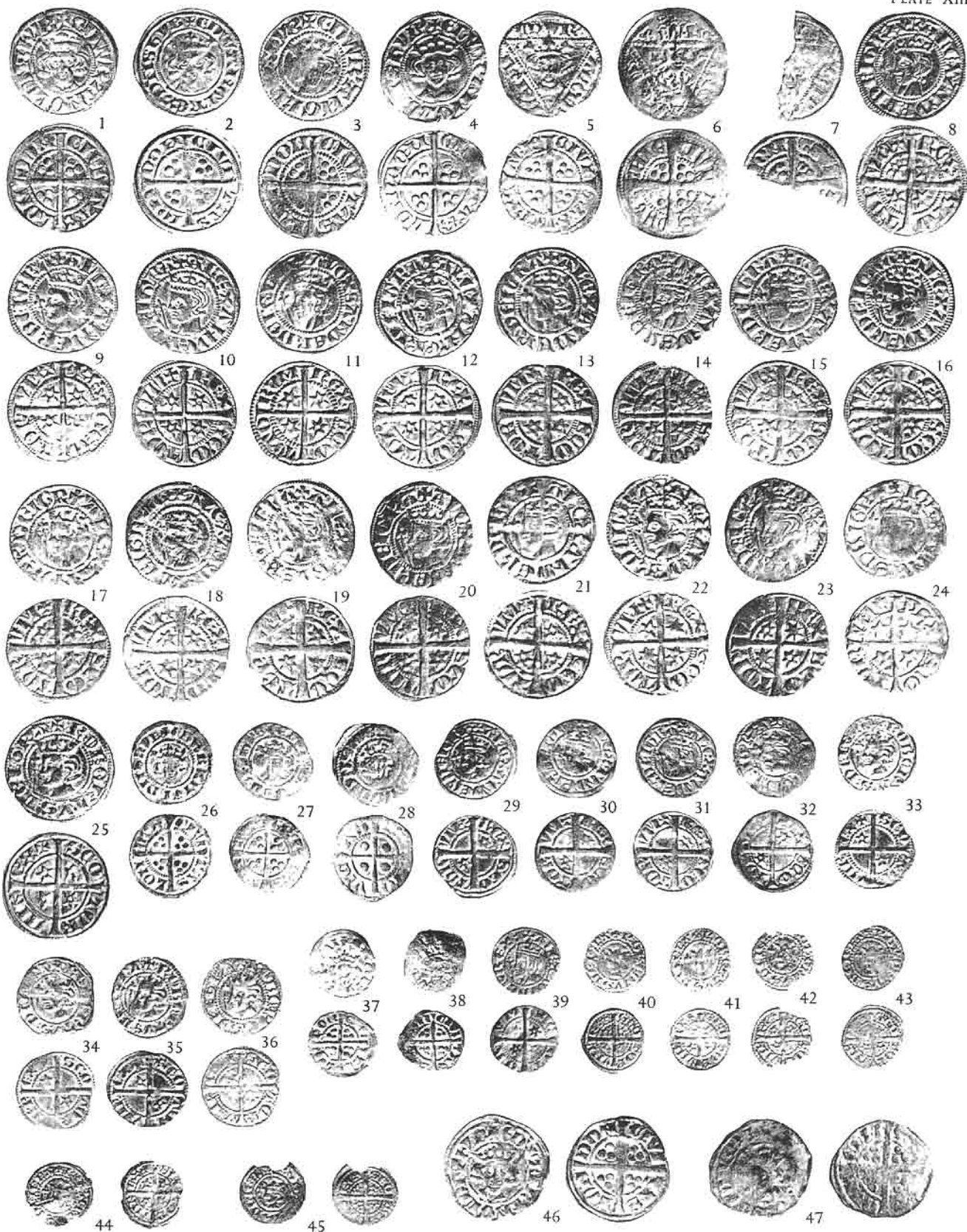
APPENDIX

Weights and disposition of Scottish coins

It was not practicable to include weights of all the English and Irish coins in the hoard, but we are greatly indebted to Miss Anne Robertson, Keeper of the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, for having supplied us with weights of the Scottish coins. Since there is little published evidence for the weights of Scottish sterling coins of this period, apart from the Dover hoard buried much earlier, we have felt it worthwhile to add these here, at the same time noting the disposition of individual specimens. Many were acquired by the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in view of their variety and very fine condition; others were allocated to the Hunterian Museum (marked H), Paisley Museum (P), Renfrew Town Council (R) and Mr. Stewart (S).

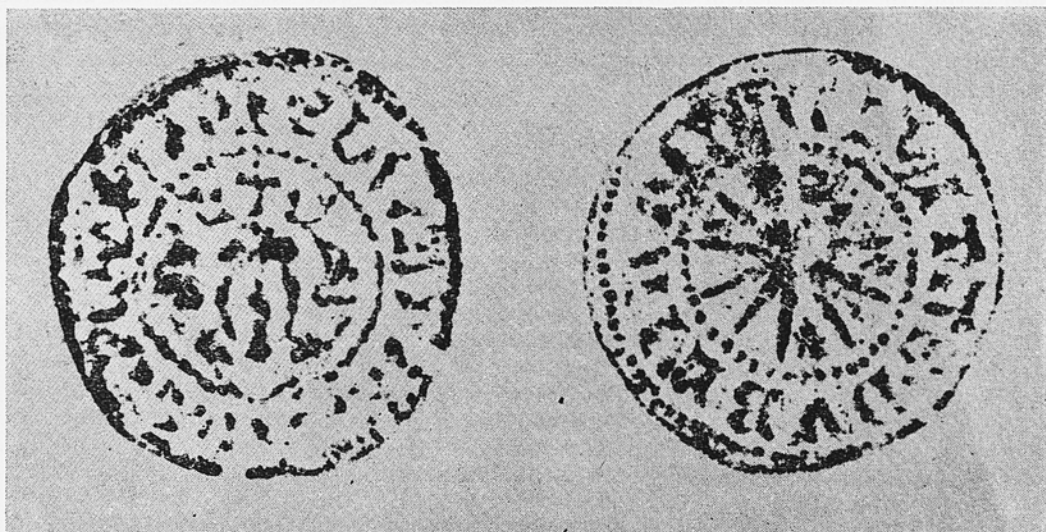
*List Nos.**Weights in Grammes*

524-9	1.406, 1.312(H), 1.457, 1.371(H), 1.404, 1.394(H).
530-6	1.421, 1.391(H), 1.336(H), 1.274(H), 1.265(H), 1.297, 1.345.
537-42	1.379, 1.370(H), 1.413, 1.343, 1.452, 1.328(H).
543-8	1.330, 1.358(H), 1.329(P), 1.389(H), 1.316, 1.447.
549-54	1.348, 1.309, 1.313(H), 1.373, 1.370, 1.414.
555-60	1.384, 1.380(P), 1.457(H), 1.287(H), 1.422(H), 1.339.
561-7	1.350, 1.404, 1.368, 1.330, 1.368, 1.370(P), 1.408(P).
568-73	1.422(H), 1.327(H), 1.303(H), 1.344(H), 1.364(H), 1.323(H).
574-80	1.130(R), 1.134, 1.364, 1.232(H), 1.287, 1.362(H), 1.334(P).
581-6	1.184(H), 1.324, 1.444(S), 1.368, 1.336, 1.440.
587-92	1.344(H), 1.371(H), 1.385(H), 1.345, 1.270, 1.370(H).
593-8	1.372(P), 1.401(H), 1.428, 1.320(H), 1.325(H), 1.392(P).
599-605	1.280, 1.381, 1.355, 1.401, 1.393, 1.388(P), 1.403(S).
606-11	1.138(H), 1.321(P), 1.366, 1.373, 1.352(H), 1.330.
612-7	1.386(P), 1.252, 1.414(S), 1.421(H), 1.422, 1.405.
618-23	1.348(P), 1.329(H), 1.378, 1.325(S), 1.336, 1.356.
624-9	1.330, 1.406, 1.369(H), 1.378(P), 1.411, 1.290.
630-5	1.336, 1.365, 1.409, 1.468, 1.348(H), 1.324(P).
636-41	1.334, 1.373, 1.404(H), 1.424(H), 1.411, 1.324.
642-6	1.379, 1.369(H), 1.407, 1.296, 1.364(H).
647-51	1.408, 1.349(H), 1.392, 1.403, 1.369(S).
652-6	0.652, 0.642, 0.619(H), 0.209(P), 0.309.
657-8	1.358, 0.688.
659-63	1.278(R), 1.382(P), 1.307, 1.375, 1.220(H).
664-7	0.556, 0.584, 0.667, 0.516(P).
668-74	0.325, 0.235(P), 0.328(S), 0.297(H), 0.233, 0.260, 0.90.



AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FORGERY OF AN ANGLO-IRISH GROAT OR HALF GROAT OF EDWARD IV

By R. H. M. DOLLEY



AMONG William Hunter's coins preserved in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow University are some sixty silver pieces which can be assigned to the mediaeval Anglo-Irish series. One of them is a coin of which the interest may be thought not to be confined to Ireland. A fairly full description is as follows:—

Obv. A crowned, facing bust exactly as on late English pennies of Edward I.

+EDWARRANGLDNshYB ('N's apparently Roman)

Rev. A sun of eleven (?) rays.

Uncertain *i.m.* CIVITASDVBLINIE ('N' Lombardic)

Weight 14.9 grains.

What the coin purports to be would seem clear enough, one of the denominations of the so-called 'doubles' coinage of 1467 from the Dublin mint. In this issue the theoretical weight of the Irish coin was exactly half that of its English counterpart, and in the Hunter trays the coin described above lies beside an authentic double-groat and groat, and in this company appears to pass as the half-groat, making up as it were the 'collector's set'. Until 1776 the piece was still in the Duane cabinet, and in 1767 we find it published by Thomas Snelling in the following terms:—

'At the first sight of the head side of Numb. 25 [of his First Additional Plate to Simon], it strikes us as an English penny of Edward the second, its inscription EDWAR.R.ANGL.DNS.

[*sic.*] is a farther confirmation of it, but then its weight contradicts such an arrangement, being only fourteen grains and a half or not more than two thirds the weight of those pennies, altho' it is well preserved. When we see the sun on its reverse, we can think of it belonging to no other prince than Edward the fourth, however its weight agrees as little with this as the former supposition, being half as heavy again as the best of this kings [*sic*] pennies, it is likewise observable, that the sun on this piece has only eleven rays, whereas on all the others there are fifteen or twenty-four rays, beside which this piece has no rose in the center [*sic*] of it, nor is the inscription, CIVITAS DUBLINIE divided into four parts, by three small roses, as is the manner on all the others; this very rare piece is in the collection of Mr. Duane.¹ It is perhaps worth remarking that Snelling's engraving by no means corresponds exactly to his description, nor indeed to the actual coin. The principal points of difference are that the artist has depicted a sun of only ten rays, has read the reverse legend as rose *i.m.* CIVITASDVBLINI, and made all the N's uniformly Lombardic. For all this it is clearly the same coin as that which lies today in the Hunter trays, and especially when one compares illegibilities on the engraving with patches of weak striking on the actual coin.

Not surprisingly the passage of two centuries almost to the year means that there is something that can be added to Snelling's assessment, though it must be conceded at the outset that the famous eighteenth-century numismatist had come very near indeed to an acceptable solution of the problem. As Snelling observed, the obverse of the Duane coin does correspond very closely to that of a Fox class X penny from the period c. 1305-1310, and the suggestion of this note is that this is because the apparent Anglo-Irish half-groat of Edward IV in fact is a tooled English penny from the last years of Edward I or the very first months of the reign of Edward II. Here, of course, there would be an admirable explanation of the discrepant weight, inasmuch as the planing off of the reverse as an essential preliminary to its remodeling would more than account for the circumstance that the 'half-groat' is only just over two-thirds the weight of the Edwardian sterling. Incidentally, had the forger really understood the series, he would have carried his planing a little further, since as it is his 'half-groat' is too heavy by some three grains plausibly to belong to the series of 48-grain double-groats, 24-grain groats and 12-grain half-groats ordained by the 1467 Dublin parliament². It is against this background of metrological discrepancy, too, that we can begin to pile up anomalies of type, style and punctuation until a point is reached when the cumulative divergency from the norm is so marked as virtually to preclude all possibility of the piece in question being an authentic coin of Edward IV. In this connection it may be remarked that in 1839 John Lindsay was driven to suggest that the coin might have been a pattern penny³, while in the same year Aquilla Smith, while rehearsing the anomalies, very wisely reserved judgement with the plea that he had not inspected the original⁴. It would appear, though, that neither of these authorities had entertained the possibility of fraudulent fabrication in modern times.

Our further objections to the authenticity of the Duane coin in the Hunter cabinet may be summarized under three heads. In the first place, the obverse legend, exactly that of an Edwardian sterling, is almost without precedent where an Anglo-Irish coin of the fifteenth century is concerned, and it may be thought particularly inappropriate in the case of a

¹ T. Snelling, *A Supplement to Mr. Simon's Essay on Irish Coins*, 1810 reprint, pp. 3 & 4.

² The penny, halfpenny and farthing were intended to be base, and so would have come in another category if not indeed beneath the notice

of an eighteenth-century collector.

³ J. Lindsay, *View of the Coinage of Ireland*, 1839, p. 41.

⁴ A. Smith, *TRIA*, XIX, p. 18.

coin of the 'doubles' issue. It may also be remarked that all other specimens of this issue eschew the English title. Secondly there is the only less decisive consideration, also remarked by the observant Snelling, that the reverse legend is not broken up into four segments by roses, though this feature is one that might be thought a fundamental characteristic of the issue as a whole. Finally, and *pace* Snelling's description, it is necessary to remark that punctuation is entirely absent from this particular 'half-groat', an absence the more surprising when it is remembered that saltire stops are quite a feature of genuine coins of the issue, from the double-groat down to the base penny. Cumulatively such anomalies unite utterly to condemn the Duane piece which henceforth must rank as a curiously successful example of the forger's art, and all that has now to be decided is whether the counterfeiter was at work in the middle ages or was simply an eighteenth-century cheat.

That the Edwardian sterling was altered in the reign of Edward IV must seem very unlikely. The fortunate finder of a comparatively unworn English penny of a century and a half earlier would have had no need to resort to hours of tedious forgery to secure an adequate reward for his luck. In the Ireland of Garret More it would have been public knowledge that the silver content of one of these old pennies was only marginally less than that of one of the new groats of the 1467 issue, and one cannot imagine that the finder would have had any difficulty in obtaining with it goods to the value of a half-groat, the denomination which we may suppose that the Duane coin essayed if in fact a fabrication from the fifteenth century. On the other hand, in the eighteenth century there is known to have been at work a forger to whom the production of the 1467 'half-groat' would have been child's play. The identity of this unsavoury character is no longer really in doubt, and John White is fairly generally considered the author of a number of extremely ingenious forgeries in the Anglo-Saxon and early mediaeval series. These include pennies of Edward the Confessor in the British Museum and the Hunter cabinet with obverse or reverse legends tooled to produce a new type for a reign (*e.g.* BMC Cnut 466) or a new moneyer for a mint (*e.g.* SCBI Hunter 1014 & 1026, 1228 etc.), and the notorious *Short-Cross* penny in the British Museum which too long masqueraded as a unique Richard I penny of the Lichfield mint¹. All these concoctions can be traced to an eighteenth-century stable, and it is worth noting that in 1749 Simon had published his pioneer treatise on the coinage of Ireland, and included in it (p. 25) an account of the 1467 instrument providing for three standard silver denominations, a double-groat, groat and half-groat, and three alloyed denominations, penny, halfpenny and farthing. Here was an invitation to forgery, and especially when Simon went on to say 'These coins are very rare, and except the groat and the penny, I have not seen any of them.'

If, however, we consult Simon's plates, it is to find that the groat has become a double-groat (Pl. 4, 72), while even the penny (Pl. 5, 114) is rendered disproportionately large. Although, then, there seems little doubt that Hunter accepted the Duane coin as the half-groat needed to make up his set of the standard silver denominations, it is by no means certain that this is what our eighteenth-century forger originally intended to produce. Indeed the greater probability must be that he was interested in the groat which Simon does not illustrate, and ironically Snelling's suspicions would not have been aroused had the forger remoulded the reverse of his Edwardian sterling instead of planing away a proportion of the silver. In the National Museum of Ireland and the Ulster Museum there are a total of fifteen of the 1467 double-groats, and the average weight is just over 43.25 grains, while eight of the groats tip the scales at an average of just over 22.25 grains. It is by no

¹ R. H. M. Dolley, *Cunobelin* 1963, pp. 29-36: cf. J. D. Brand *BNJ*, XXXIII (1964), pp. 57 & 58.

means exceptional for an Edward I penny from a hoard to weigh 22 grains, so that White could easily have avoided suspicion if he had refrained from removing metal. Ironically, too, the ephemeral character of the 1467 'doubles' coinage conspired against him. Had the coins circulated for a protracted period, the weights of extant specimens would have been not nearly so uniform, and it is possible that a virtually 15-grain 'groat' would have gone unremarked. The whole 'doubles' nomenclature is, however, so confused and so confusing that one may even wonder whether Simon did not write 'groat' in the passage quoted when he intended, 'double-groat' while it was probably inevitable that writers such as Lindsay and Aquilla Smith, not to mention Snelling, should have considered the Duane piece only in terms of 'half-groat' or 'penny'.

There is, then, a very real possibility that White intended his fabrication to pass as a groat, but once it reached a cabinet where already there were an authentic double-groat and groat, the latter on a flan notably more spread than that of the coin we are here considering, it would have been remarkable if the tooled penny of Edward I did not secure acceptance as the half-groat needed to complete the set. In consequence no little credit attaches to Snelling for having stressed the discrepant weight, and to Lindsay for the highly ingenious suggestion of a piedfort pattern. Once again, too, one must commend Aquilla Smith's reluctance to pronounce without autopsy, but even so it seems surely a measure of neglect of the Anglo-Irish series that it has taken almost two centuries for an Irish student to follow up Snelling's extraordinarily acute observation that 'the head side . . . strikes us as an English penny of Edward the second'. This is indeed the nub of the whole problem, and inevitably one wonders what other coins as yet unsuspected may prove to be from the same stable. For the present writer the same Hunter cabinet perhaps provides one candidate, the pattern groat (?) of sovereign type of London of Henry VII (North 1753, *cf.* *BNJ* XXV, i (1945/1946), p. 75, *ibid.* XXX, ii (1961), p. 276 etc.), though here the coin's omission from the works of Hawkins and Brooke after acceptance by Folkes, Snelling and Ruding means that to others must belong the credit of having first suspected forgery. We may observe in passing, though, that the coin's rehabilitation if unjustified would illustrate admirably one danger of what we may perhaps style the 'Lawrence' approach to numismatics, an undue reliance upon lettering to the virtual exclusion of all other criteria. By an unfortunate quirk our eighteenth-century forger left the legends of this groat entirely alone, though in fairness it must be admitted that the tooling of the obverse type is obvious only when the actual coin is inspected in strong daylight. It only remains for the writer to express his obligations to Miss A. S. Robertson, F.S.A., for her kindness in allowing him to study Hunter's Anglo-Irish coins, and for supplying him with the excellent plaster-casts which were the basis of the very indifferent text-block that heads this note.¹

¹ The block-maker had attempted to produce a block without intermediate photography and there was no time to replace the casts which had been spoiled by the application of graphite.

A NOTE ON THE WEIGHT AND FINENESS OF THE 1646 ORMONDE 'PISTOLE'

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

ON pp. 141–150 of volume XXXIII (1964) of the *British Numismatic Journal* Dr. William O'Sullivan has demonstrated conclusively that the so-called 'Inchiquin' gold coins, the 'pistole' and its 'double', have nothing whatever to do with Lord Inchiquin, but represent in reality a gold coinage of the Duke of Ormonde authorized by a warrant dated 29 July 1646. The purpose of the present note is simply to tidy in one or two loose ends, and in particular to suggest why it might have been that the coins in question were struck to what seems at first sight a purely arbitrary standard.

To take first the problem of weight, Dr. O'Sullivan has stated that 'It is not known why these particular weights of 8 dwt. 14 gr. or 206 grains and the half of that amount i.e. 4 dwt. 7 gr. or 103 grains were chosen as units of weight for the coins as they do not tie up in any way with the weight of any of the English gold coins at that time'. The answer to this very real problem must surely be that the pieces were intended to enjoy parity with certain Spanish and French coins of the period. The foreign coins in question were struck to a theoretical weight of 4 dwt. 8 gr., with the multiples in proportion, and one may suppose that the figure for the Anglo-Irish piece of 4 dwt. 7 gr. had been established by experiments based on a series of weighings of mint specimens newly arrived in the country. These Spanish and French coins were popularly—if erroneously—called 'pistoles', and circulated freely in Ireland, cf. *Simon's Essay on Irish Coins* (ed. Ledwich, Dublin, 1810), p. 50 for the text of the 1660 proclamation giving them semi-official status, and the 1946 and 1948 discoveries at Derryville, Portarlington, Co. Laois for the occurrence of the continental pieces in an Irish hoard beside examples of the 1646 pieces under discussion. If, then, Dr. Aquilla Smith was the first modern authority to call the 1646 pieces 'pistoles', he was no more than restoring the name by which they must surely have passed among the recipients if not the makers, and one may even wonder whether in point of fact Smith was at all influenced by the analogy of the 106-grain Scottish *pistole* of 1701 (cf. *JRSAL*² III (1860/1861), p. 144).

The 21 carat $3\frac{1}{2}$ grain fineness of the 104-grain Spanish 'pistole' was such that in theory at least it contained $94\frac{5}{8}$ gr. of pure gold, and the impression given by contemporaries is that this standard was maintained with very fair consistency. Its Anglo-Irish 'equivalent' was struck with an almost unprecedented though easily explicable remedy so that its mean content was $81\frac{13}{24}$ grains of pure gold, though in theory at least individual pieces might contain as much as $85\frac{5}{16}$ grains or as little as $77\frac{41}{48}$ grains. Strictly, then, the Ormonde 'pistole' was a cheat, and relied on the circumstance that all gold coin was at a premium, with the mass of the population in no position to obtain an assay even if most people did not assume that a coin emanating from an official source would not be of other than standard gold (i.e. that the 'pistole' would contain $94\frac{5}{12}$ grains of pure gold, a remarkable approximation to the gold content of the Spanish model). It must not be forgotten, though, that the terms of the warrant, even if confidential at the outset, could not have been kept a state

secret indefinitely, and that the use of the term 'coin' was, as Dr. O'Sullivan has remarked, most scrupulously avoided. The 'peeeces or pledges' were to meet a most urgent need for coin at a time when gold coin was at a premium, and many would still have been prepared to pay a discount of at worst just about 18% or 3/6d. in the pound who had tumbled to the fact that the 'pistoless' were not of standard gold.

We have, then, an additional reason why the 103-grain weight-standard should have been adopted for a coin to circulate beside the Spanish *real d'oro* and its multiples, the fact that a mental calculation based on an automatic assumption that the coin was of 22-carat fineness would suggest absolute parity in pure gold content with the Spanish counterpart, the bullion value of which would have been common knowledge among Irish tradesmen. Why so generous a remedy should have been allowed the makers is easily understood—indeed the warrant gives one very good reason, the fact that the Dublin craftsmen charged with the striking of the 'pistoless' lacked *inter alia* a trial-plate. What may appear still mysterious is why it should have been decided to strike the coins at 19-carat fine. The motives for a measure of debasement are not hard to find, though one is inclined perhaps to overlook one justification, the circumstance that pieces struck in standard gold or fine gold would have left the country almost immediately, whereas coins reputed base by the experts, the goldsmiths and their friends, would presumably be immune from speculative export and so continue to circulate freely. Why, though, should they have been struck 19-carat fine, and not, say, 18 or 20?

The answer would seem to be that the issuers, practising goldsmiths, were well aware that the time would come when these 'pledges' would be tendered for redemption at their bullion value. As we have seen, the remedy prescribed had been generous to a fault. One 'pistole' might contain as much as 85 grains of pure gold and another as little as 78, so that what a goldsmith would need would be some rough-and-ready means of ensuring that he would not be out of pocket when trafficking in them. The standard coin of the realm was, of course, the English and Scottish *unite*, and this contained, in theory at least, 128 32/41 grains of pure gold. As we have seen, the theoretical pure gold content of the 1646 Ormonde 'pistole' could be as high as 85 5/16 grains, and in this note I would like to draw attention to the following coincidence:—

$$128 \frac{32}{41} \times 2 = 257 \frac{23}{41}$$

$$85 \frac{5}{16} \times 3 = 255 \frac{15}{16}$$

In other words the gold content of three of the best of the Anglo-Irish 'pistoless' was for all practical purposes the same as that of two English or Scottish *unites*, so that a goldsmith could be certain that he would not be hurting himself if he obliged a customer by letting him have three of the 'pistoless' for two *unites*. To a customer aware of a fairly general impression that an Anglo-Irish 'pistole' was equal in value to its Spanish or French counterpart such a kindness might seem a very real favour, since three of the foreign pieces strictly should not have been obtained for two *unites*, the discrepancy in the actual gold content here amounting to some 26 grains. More important still is the relationship between the English or Scottish *unite* and the worst of the Anglo-Irish 'pistoless' which is revealed by the following calculations:—

$$128 \frac{32}{41} \times 3 = 386 \frac{14}{41}$$

$$77 \frac{41}{48} \times 5 = 389 \frac{7}{48}$$

In other words the gold content of five of the worst 'pistoles' that could in theory exist would still be for all practical purposes the same as that of three English and Scottish *unites*, so that goldsmiths would not be out of pocket who had to buy in 'pistoles' on this basis.

Reduced to its simplest terms this set of equations means that a working goldsmith would have known exactly where he stood when faced with one or more of the 'pledges'. He could not very well lose provided he did not dispose of one for less than 13/4d. and equally he could not have failed to make a profit if he bought in good-weight specimens at not more than 12/- apiece. Clearly, too, the good round figure of 12/6 would have constituted a fair basis of value taken over a run of uncultured specimens. In other words the 19-carat and 103-grain Ormonde 'pistole' of 1646 would have fitted into the Anglo-Irish currency system rather better than its apparently quite anomalous fineness and weight might seem to suggest. As we have seen, the weight of the emergency 'pledge' was deliberately that of a foreign coin already circulating in Ireland in very considerable quantity. The new issue, too, was designedly base to discourage export, but it has begun to emerge that the degree of baseness was very carefully calculated to allow those 'in the know' to have a rule-of-thumb means of integrating them into the existing currency. What the age deemed an acceptable approximation is suggested by the 1660 proclamation which by valuing the Spanish 'pistole' at sixteen shillings equated five (gold content 473 1/8 grains) with four English *unites* (gold content 515 5/41 grains), a discrepancy of a trifle over 8 grains per coin. On this showing Peter van Eindhoven and Gilbert Tonques may be deemed to have shown themselves masters not just of their craft but also of the changer's cognate skills, for the discrepancy with their 'pistole', assuming the intrinsically probable 12/6d valuation, would have worked out at no more than 5½ grains per coin, but is such finesse really all that unexpected in men who had risen to the summit of their profession? Admittedly this is to assume that Peter van Eindhoven and Gilbert Tonques had been consulted concerning the coinage they were charged to produce, but monetary experts were few in beleaguered Dublin in 1646 to whom the Duke of Ormonde could have turned for counsel and advice.

THE NEWARK MEDAL OF ANTHONY ASCHAM

By MARY P. BELLAMY

THE entry in the Calendar of State Papers for January 16th 1650 reads—'Anthony Ascham approved to go as resident to the King of Spain and to have notice to go in the fleet going southward.' After negotiations had taken place as to his allowance and about the instructions and letters he was to carry as ambassador from the Parliament of England, Ascham began his journey to Spain. On June 5th he arrived at Madrid. The day after he was murdered. As a result, six English royalists¹ were arrested and imprisoned. One report states that 'this murder was committed by former consultation and with a deliberate minde.' The murderers swore that they had acted heroically—'Let's kill the Resident for a destroyer of our Nation.' Conversely, another account asserts that 'these persons rashly ventured on the act and had not so much consulted it among themselves but met accidentally neere the Lodging and so came upon it.' Whatever the true reasons behind Ascham's murder, it served a useful political purpose. In his letters and speeches, Cromwell referred to the murder of 'poor Ascham' in connection with the war against Spain². On several occasions, Milton, in the Letters of State, wrote at length to the King of Spain about 'the villainous murder of our Agent Anthony Ascham' and demanded vengeance on the murderers³. Although his death was full



FIG. 1

¹ John Guillim, William Spark, Valentine and Henry Progers, John Halsal and William Arnet. The spelling of the surnames varies according to the source.

² Letter ccxiii, Whitehall, 1656. Speech v, 17th

September 1656. Thomas Carlyle edition, 1893.

³ Milton urges that 'deserved punishment may be speedily inflicted upon those parricides.' Westminster, 28th June 1650.

of religious and political implications, it is also of interest numismatically. The unfortunate Ascham was buried in the yard of the posada where he died but not before a medal was discovered on his person.¹ There exist today three contemporary references, all varying in their interpretation of this medal or talisman. In addition, two of the three sources have a drawing of the medal accompanying the text.

Firstly, reference is made to the medal in the Madrid News Sheet, dated 1st July 1650, which is preserved in the Chapter library at Lincoln Cathedral. Besides hazarding a guess as to the significance of the medal the writer sends a copy of it (*Fig. 1*). The News Sheet is headed 'The Abstract of some Letters written out of Spaine concerning the Death of Mr. Ascham, Agent there, for the Rebels of England. Together with the figure of a Plate found on his left side next his skinne.' On either side of the drawing is the following explanation—'Wee send you likewise a modell of a plate found upon the Person of Mr. Ascham after hee was killed upon his left syde next his skinn and nearest his heart, whether it were a combination entered into by such a number at that time as some heere believe or whether it were a charme by which he meant to preserve his vital parts from being hurt, and they who dispatched him say that they could not make their swords enter on that syde you will best judge.'

Secondly, among the Thomason Tracts in the British Museum there is a paper by a Doctor Don Augustine de Hierro entitled 'The Process and Pleadings in the Court of Spain upon the death of Anthonie Ascham, Resident for the Parliament of England.' According to the

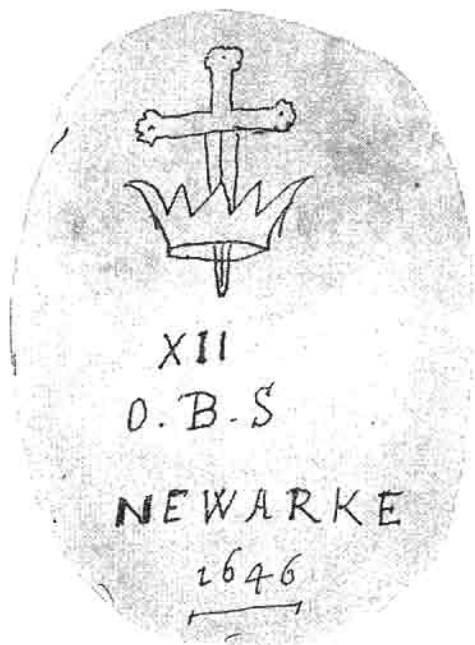


FIG. 2

¹According to the Licentiate Don Fernando de Guevara and Altamirano in an account dated 10th June 1650 and included in the Thurlow State Papers, the inn was in the street del Cavallero de Grava.

Hyde comments—'The Fellow himselfe was the next night put upright in a deepe hole . . . the Posada ever since remayning without any Guests.'

title-leaf, it was 'sent from Madrid from a person of qualitie and made English.'¹ The English translation of Hierro's description of the medal reads—'They say this Ambassador came to seduce and deceiv by a book of his which was found among his papers and a medall which hee had, which had on the one side Nebart and on the other XII and the word Obstricti, and they say that it signifies those XII which gain'd Nebart and occasion'd the warrs: Hence they inferr, that he came to deceiv, there was also found a Crown stab'd with a poniard.' It is curious that in the original version in Spanish, Hierro makes no mention at all of the crown and poniard.

Thirdly, in a letter dated 21st June 1650, Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde, Royalist Ambassadors to Spain, write in their account to the King of particulars relative to Ascham—'There was found about the person of the man when he was dead upon his left syde and next his skynne and nearest his heart, a plate of silver, which is now in his Majestie's keeping and a model whereof we herein send your Majesty, we here take it to be some combination entred into at that time, it may be the Hyrogliphique may be better understood nearr England, though it wants not severall comentis here.' This letter together with the 'model' referred to are in the Bodleian library². The medal is drawn on an oval-shaped piece of paper which is stuck at the top of the letter (*Fig. 2*).

The two drawings although very similar differ from each other. Are they independent versions of the medal or was one drawing copied from the other? The two accompanying descriptions are close and at times the wording is the same. Although the letter has an earlier date than the Madrid News Sheet it is difficult to conceive of anyone having access to a letter to the King written partly in code and signed by Cottington and Hyde. It is possible that there existed yet another drawing of the medal.

The general contemporary opinion of the medal seemed to be that it was either a charm or amulet or a medallion of political significance. What light can be shed on the medal, considering it now over three hundred years later? The subject can be viewed from four aspects.

1. A comparison of the drawings and descriptions.
2. To compare and contrast the medal with a Newark siege piece.
3. Why and how it came to be in Ascham's possession on the day he was murdered and to consider his connections, if any, with Newark and the Civil War.
4. Perhaps the most aggravating question of all, what happened to the medal?

To take the first point. It is noticeable that one of the descriptions does not tally with the drawings. According to Hierro, the medal had on it Nebart and Obstricti. But it must be remembered that accuracy in the details concerning the medal may not have been of prime importance in the 'learned and elaborate charge'. To the Spaniards, it was the finding of such a medal on Ascham which indicated without doubt that the ambassador came as 'an imposter and a regicide'—a regicide referring to the part Ascham is believed to have played in the mock trial of the King in 1649.³ Hierro says that Ascham 'had been killed as

¹ The Spanish version was published in 1650. The Preface to the English account is dated 8th May 1651 and is dedicated by R. W. to 'his truly honoured friend Sir W. Butler.'

² MS. Carte 130 fols. 224-5.

³ The Commissioners for the trial of the King chose, among others, Dr. Dorislaus and Mr. Aske, to draw up and manage the charge against Charles. If Aske and Ascham were the same man, as has been

assumed by some scholars, then the deaths of the two regicides have some interesting parallels as both suffered a similar fate. Dorislaus was sent to the Hague as agent to the States of Holland. Like Ascham, he stayed in lodgings where he was murdered on May 12th 1649—roughly a month before Ascham's death. Both the Dutch and Spanish authorities appeared to make little or no attempt to bring the murderers of the two men to justice.

a heretic for a disturber of Public Peace who particularly fomented the death of the King and the change of government'. He sees some sinister meaning in XII as those 'who gain'd Nebart and occasion'd the warrs', in order to justify to some extent the murderers' actions.

As already mentioned, the interpolation by the translator, James Howell, is puzzling—'there was also found a Crown stab'd with a poniard'. If drawings of the medal had not survived, one would infer from this that two objects, a medal *and* a crown were found on Ascham. But it is probable that the translator is merely elaborating on Hierro's description. Possibly Howell had seen the drawing of the medal in the Madrid News Sheet which would have arrived in England by the time he had started on his translation of Hierro.



FIG 3.

To come to the second point. Apparent is the very close resemblance, though not in size and shape, between the medal and a shilling siege piece of Newark (*Fig. 3*). Understandably the Spaniards could not be expected to recognise the similarity. Hierro is confused over the Nebart and Obstricti and totally ignorant as to the original meaning of XII. Moreover, he assigns Obstricti to the same side as XII. But it is strange that Cottington and Hyde, being Englishmen, did not comment on the medal but merely wrote that 'the Hyroglyphique may be better understood nearr England'. They had arrived from England only a year previously. Even if they had not seen a Newark siege piece at first hand, they would surely have heard of the siege at Newark which had played such an important part in the Civil War.

A first glance at the Carte MS drawing (is it the work of Hyde's secretary, William Edgeman, who wrote the letter?) suggests that the medal was an oval 'plate of silver' with lettering, similar to that on a Newark siege piece, scratched on with a finely pointed instrument. This supposition is possible though most probably the medal was originally a siege piece. Apart from details, however, such as the dots separating the letters OBS instead of the final colon, the medal differs in four distinct ways from a 1646 shilling siege piece of Newark.

1. There is a dagger or poniard through the crown.
2. There is no C R.
3. The crown on the medal is shallow and quite unlike any of the crowns portrayed on a Newark siege piece.
4. Newark is spelt with an E.

As far as the difference in the crowns is concerned, an artist would not be expected to copy in detail the elaborate crown of a Newark siege piece. The addition, however, of the E at the end of Newark is odd. Could it have been a slip by the artist?¹ For there are no 1646 shillings spelt with an E in either of the two representative collections of Newark siege money, that in the British Museum and that formerly in the museum at Newark. Some of the 1645 shillings are spelt in this way but not those dated 1646.

But the dagger through the crown and the omission of c r are more difficult to explain away and point to the fact that the medal seems to have been a siege piece tooled. The engraving of the dagger could have been added. The rather indistinguishable cross surmounting the crown may even have been enlarged to form the hilt and at the same time the c r erased. On one 1646 siege piece a definite attempt has been made at some time to remove the lower part of the c and the scratches made by the tooling instrument are hardly noticeable. It is significant that no mention is made of the letters c r in either of the two drawings or in the three descriptions.

Both the drawings would have us believe that the medal was oval-shaped with lettering on only one side and was much larger than a siege piece. But we know from Hierro that the medal had an obverse and reverse. He states this quite clearly—'on the one side Nebart and on the other XII and the word Obstricti.' A person copying the medal would most probably start with the dagger and crown and the XII on the obverse, then turn to the reverse; and the lettering is in this logical sequence in the drawings. As to the size. According to the Madrid News Sheet (and also Cottington and Hyde) Ascham wore the medal nearest his heart for protection. But the News Sheet also states that the medal was thought to be a charm and here 'charm' is the operative word. No doubt the writer was thinking foremost of the spiritual property which would protect the wearer rather than the actual metal of the medal itself. The murderers said that 'they could not make their swords enter on that syde' on which Ascham carried his medal. It would have been a miracle if so small an object as a siege piece could have afforded such protection.

Why should a siege piece of the shilling denomination have been chosen? All three sources infer that the twelve was a 'combination entred into'. As far as I know no evidence has so far come to light of a conspiracy, secret society or suchlike in which Ascham was involved and in which the number twelve was significant. If twelve had no special meaning a shilling was probably chosen due to the fact that a piece of this denomination would be most readily available for tooling. Of all the siege pieces minted at Newark the shilling was one of the most common denominations.

Ascham's medal must in some way have been affixed to his clothing but how the drawing does not make clear. Presumably it was pierced. Several of the Newark siege pieces which survive today are holed and these were probably kept as keepsakes or badges. One, in fact, has been pierced at the four corners which indicates that it may have been fastened to material.

To discuss the third point. Why did Ascham wear the medal? The alterations, the dagger through the crown and the deletion of cr, suggest that the medal may have been a Parliamentary badge. Newark had been besieged several times and the surrender to the Scottish army on May 6th 1646 of a town which had been for many years a strategic and important stronghold for the royalists was a great triumph for the enemy forces. A great variety of

¹ The artist must have copied direct from the actual medal. It would have been impossible for someone to concoct a drawing from the meagre

reference of Cottington and Hyde and the misleading description by Hierro.

devices and mottoes were used by the Parliamentarians on standards and banners to urge on their troops. So why could not a 1646 Newark siege piece have been altered in order to commemorate a victory for which they had all been striving? A dagger through a crown was indeed symbolical of the downfall of the royalists and later the death of the King¹. Ascham wrote a book against monarchical government² which showed that he felt strongly about the Parliamentary cause, so it would be quite in keeping for a man of his temperament and position to be wearing such a badge.³

If the medal was not worn by Ascham primarily as a Parliamentary emblem, why was he wearing it at the time of his death? May it have been a good luck talisman or as the Madrid News Sheet suggests 'a charme by which he meant to preserve his vital parts from being hurt'? From various sources it appears that Ascham expected trouble at his new post and that he felt the need of some protection, however slight. Indeed, his murder is proof that Ascham's fears were justified. Certainly in some quarters news of his appointment was not favourably received and points to the fact that Ascham could not expect much of a welcome when he arrived in Spain. Charles the Second's ambassadors, Cottington and Hyde, remonstrated to the King of Spain against the reception of Ascham as Parliamentary ambassador.⁴ It inflamed the Spaniards too, that a book against monarchical government had been written 'by this man who now comes agent for the rebels'⁵ and this is emphasised in Hierro's paper—'this ambassador came to seduce and deceive by a book of his which was found among his papers.'

The Clarendon State Papers for February 27th 1650 record that before his departure, Ascham said that he expected some affront at landing. Reports state that on his arrival at Puerto Santa Maria, Ascham was 'in so much alarm for his safety that he would not stir from the port . . . until he had a Maestro di Campo and three or four soldiers to guard and accompany him'.⁶ In Ascham's letter, however, to Speaker Lenthall in London, the tone is one of frustration rather than fear.⁷

Even if Ascham was fearful of his life and felt that he needed some sort of charm or talisman to ward off danger, was there any significance in that he had a medal resembling a siege piece from the town of Newark? Did Ascham have any connections with Newark either during the Civil War or at any other time? Certainly throughout his life he was connected with this part of England. The family name itself is a regional one apparently of great antiquity⁸ and is said to have taken its name from the villages known as East and West Askham near York; and Askham, south of Retford. The Lords' Journals,⁹ in the entry concerning the appointment of Ascham as tutor to the Duke of York, later James II, describe him as a 'Lincolnshire gentleman'. Also the Parish Registers for Boston record the baptism, on March 6th 1613/14, of Anthonie, son of Thomas Ascome. From Eton where he was a King's scholar,

¹ The use of an enfiled weapon to symbolise the death of a king is also exemplified in the arms of the Benedictine Abbey at Bury St. Edmunds and later in those of the town itself. The arms, granted in 1609, consist of azure, three pairs of arrows in saltire or, each pair enfiled with a ducal coronet of the last.

² *The Confusions and Revolutions of Government*, 1648. 143 pp.

³ According to Anthony à Wood, the Rump Parliament chose Ascham as their resident to the Court of Spain because he was looked upon as sufficiently anti-monarchical.

⁴ Clarendon State Papers. 25th and 26th April, 1650.

⁵ Clarendon State Papers. 27th May, 1650.

⁶ Clarendon State Papers. 4th June, 1650.

⁷ 3rd April 1650. Thomas Baker MS. Collection. Vol. xvii, p. 149. University Library, Cambridge.

⁸ In a letter dated February 4th 1649 to Philip the Fourth, King of Spain, Milton describes Ascham as 'descended of an ancient family.' Anthony Allen writes in his Catalogue of all the Provosts, Fellows and Scholars of King's College, vol. 3, that 'Ascham was born of a gentile family descended no doubt from the same family whence sprang Roger Ascham' and comments that 'our Anthony is the last of the name which I have yet met with.'

⁹ 30th July, 1646.

Ascham went up to King's College, Cambridge at the age of sixteen. There he became a B.A., an M.A. and subsequently a Fellow until his death in 1650.

It is also of interest to note that the Madrid News Sheet is, at the present time, in the Chapter Library of Lincoln Cathedral. In all the documents made available to me on my visit to Lincoln I could find no record of how the News Sheet came to be in this particular library, for it was not, as one would expect, part of Dean Honeywood's collection acquired during his travels at the time of the Civil War and Commonwealth. Its presence there may be due to the fact that Ascham's controversial book brought forth a paper and censure from Robert Sanderson who was, according to Isaac Walton, consecrated Bishop of Lincoln in 1660—ten years after Ascham's death.¹ A connection may have been established earlier during the Civil War when Sanderson, a prisoner at the Parliamentary garrison at Lincoln, was released in exchange for a Mr. Clark, prisoner at the Royalist garrison at Newark.

I have done a great deal of research into the life of Ascham but as yet I have been unable to find any definite link between Ascham, Newark and the Civil War. Moreover, the whereabouts of Ascham at the time of the siege is not known. The Commons Books² consulted in King's College library reveal that, particularly between the years 1645 and 1648, he was more often than not away from Cambridge. The Catalogues of both Anthony Allen and Berkeley Seymour draw attention to the fact that Ascham was a great traveller. In accounts of the siege housed in Newark library, I could find no mention of the name Ascham. This does not rule out the possibility that he may, in some way, have been connected with the Parliamentarians at Newark. We know from mention made of him in the Interregnum Volumes under the General Assessment for the Borough of Boston³ that Ascham's father, Thomas, an Alderman of Boston, was actively engaged in the war.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a tooled siege piece from Newark should have been discovered on a man with these connections in this part of England.

To deal with the last point. Naturally one is led to wonder where the medal is now. What happened to it after the murder? Contemporary accounts in this respect are illuminating. George Fisher, Ascham's secretary, reported to the Council of State that 'a multitude of people (as the custome is here in such cases) as soon as the murther was committed entred in the house and some things are missing, which were stole away, before the justice would come. What remaynes (as well as money as goods) shall be delivered unto me and an inventory taken'.⁴ The account of a Mr. Lawrence Chambers, who was staying at the inn where Ascham was murdered, is similar to Fisher's.⁵ In the circumstances, therefore, it is remarkable, not that the medal should have come to light on Ascham's murder, but that it should have been saved from grasping hands to be recorded for posterity.

In 'Memorials of the English Affairs', Whitelock states, contrary to Fisher's hopes, that 'Mr. Ascham's papers and goods were seured by the Spanish Secretary of State' and Hyde refers to the 'plate of silver which is now in his Majestie's keeping.' This would explain how Hierro came to know of the medal and how drawings came to be made for inclusion in the

¹ The censure in the form of a letter headed 'Dr. Sanderson to N. N. on the obedience to be paid to an usurped authority', is among Archbishop Sancroft's MS. collection of letters of Eminent Persons and is printed in D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, vol. 2.

² *Liber Communarum*, vols. xxviii et seq.

³ Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 23rd June 1647.

⁴ Thurloe State Papers. Letter dated Madrid, 9th June 1650. Also in Rymer's *Foedera*, vol. xx. Fisher derived his information from Griffin, Ascham's servant, to whom the murderers offered no violence. He was the only surviving witness of the murder except for the murderers themselves.

⁵ Thurloe State Papers. The account 'Indorsed by President Bradshaw. Delivered me by hands of Mr. Chambers' is dated 27th March 1652.

News Sheet and in a letter from Cottington and Hyde to the King. As far as I can ascertain, there is no record of the inventory referred to by Fisher, neither can I find out what the Secretary of State representing the King eventually did with Ascham's belongings.

In conclusion. That the Ascham medal once existed there is no doubt. We know from written evidence that Ascham did carry about his person a medal or talisman. Although the contemporary drawings and descriptions may not be entirely accurate, all the evidence points to the fact that it was a shilling siege piece of Newark, altered by tooling into a Parliamentary emblem. But was it unique?—the isolated example of a man's fanatical devotion to the Parliamentary cause, or were there several and the one discovered on Ascham an example. If the latter is true, who owned them and maybe wore them? Do similar ones exist in museums or in private collections, the owners being unaware of their historical interest?

If it was not worn chiefly by Ascham as a parliamentary badge, was it a charm or talisman for his journey to Spain? The Spaniards at the time were unsure of its significance. We do not know how long it had been in Ascham's possession. It must have meant something special to him, for he did not carry it about in his luggage or even in his pockets but wore it 'next his skinn and nearest his heart.' This concealment in itself has an air of secrecy about it.

In 1937, W. H. Kynaston, Canon of Lincoln, referring to the reprint of the Madrid News Sheet drawing in his 'Catalogue of Foreign Books in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral', wrote the following—'The illustration is reproduced in the hope that some clue to its meaning may be forthcoming.'

My thanks are due to the Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral for permission to reprint the Madrid News Sheet drawing; to the Department of Western MSS, Bodleian library, Oxford, for all their help and for allowing me to reproduce the Carte drawing; to the Provost and Fellows of King's College, Cambridge for enabling me to consult relevant documents in the library and to quote from college manuscripts; to the staff of the University library, Cambridge and Newark library for their assistance and lastly but by no means least to Dr. J. P. C. Kent, F.S.A., of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, for all his advice and helpful comments.

A SUMMARY OF THE CROMWELL COINAGE

By MARVIN LESSEN

Introduction

A number of written works are in existence regarding the Cromwell coinage. These are in the form of *BNJ* articles, *NC* articles, and even an entire book on the subject by Henfrey. Unfortunately, the details of this literature are not always compatible with each other, and a considerable air of confusion still remains. This is due to the unusual nature of the coinage, with its various forms of originals and copies. Many numismatists apparently consider the subject requires no further study, but it should be realized that the attribution of certain of the coins has been argued about for many years, with the same coins variously being credited to Simon or to Tanner, or to some unknown Dutchman (or men). The present paper is based upon a careful examination of the literature and of the coins themselves, and is intended to assist in clarifying the situation. Basically, this is done by listing all the known varieties, in catalogue form, and by including a flow chart which traces the coinage through the use of die-links and punch-links.

I do not purport to have generated new theories, nor have I discovered new documentation, but I do hope that I have presented these data in a clearer format than now exists, and that the conclusions were reached in a logical manner. I am certain more questions have been proposed than have been answered. However, this could prove constructive by stimulating further studies. The farthing patterns by David Ramage will not be discussed, except for a listing in the general catalogue, since they have been well-covered by Mr. Peck (Ref. 7).

Historical Review

Although this paper is concerned only with the coins themselves, a brief sketch of the historical events of the coinage is in order to provide continuity. The subject is best covered by Henfrey (Ref. 1), Hocking (Ref. 3), and Allen (Ref. 4 and 8).

In August and September of 1656*, orders were issued to Peter Blondeau to coin silver bullion in the amount of £2,000 sterling and a small amount of gold. The dies, bearing the Protector's effigy, were to be engraved by Thomas Simon, and the coins struck by Blondeau on his own machinery. An original order of 27 November 1656 contains sketches by Simon of seven coins, and represents official approval of the Simon designs. The design of the bust for the silver coins was altered to its final and presently known form by an order dated 11 December 1656. The seven coins contemplated were the broad, ten-shilling and five-shilling gold pieces, and the silver crown, halfcrown, shilling, and sixpence. Mr. Allen illustrates the two original gold and silver designs and the modified silver design in his first article (Ref. 8). In the middle of 1657, the coins dated 1656 were struck at Drury House in the Strand. These coins were the gold broad (and its pattern, the 'fifty-shilling' piece) and the silver halfcrown.

A further series of coins was issued in 1658. This issue was based on an order of 17 November 1657 proposing to increase the coining facilities and capabilities to a weekly output of £10,000.

*Dates used in this paper are based on the old style calendar where the New Year begins on the 25th of March.

However, the death of Cromwell in September of 1658 apparently brought the coinage to a close, and certainly prevented the issuance of the coins for general circulation. Production probably began very shortly before Cromwell's death, and the coinage consisted of the crown, the halfcrown, the shilling, and a very few sixpences, all basically in silver. Unfortunately, documentation pertaining to this final period of coinage is very sparse, if in existence at all.

A manuscript by Simon, listing his charges for various items from 1650 to July 1657, contains the entry for the cost of stamps, dies, piles, trussells, and irons for seven coins of Cromwell for coining by Blondeau's presses. The implication here is that Simon prepared the equipment for seven different coins. It is not possible to relate these seven coins to the seven referred to in the order of 27 November 1656 since the gold ten- and five-shilling pieces were never prepared. Hocking feels these seven different types were the fifty-shilling piece, the broad, halfbroad, crown, halfcrown, shilling, and sixpence. His contention is incorrect, for the fifty-shilling piece was struck from the normal broad dies and thus cannot be considered as a separate type and, as will be shown later, Simon did not make the halfbroad dies, although he did make a halfbroad punch. It appears that the ten- and five-shilling gold denominations, although normal for the Commonwealth coinage, were deleted from consideration for the Cromwell coinage even though there is no supporting documentation. Only six types may be accounted for as coming from Simon's hand, and these are the broad, crown, halfcrown of both dates, shilling, and sixpence. The meaning of Simon's seven will have to remain undefined, but possibly too much importance should not be placed on that entry. A more important issue is the date of the entry or, more properly, the end date covered of July 1657. If the seven coins do include all his dies, then it would seem that the dies of the coins dated 1658 were engraved in 1657; we know this was very likely so for the crown.

The events pertaining to the subsequent wanderings of the Simon dies and puncheons, and the eventual re-coinages, become more muddled, and often impossible to trace. Yet, at various times during the eighty years after the last official coinage by Simon and Blondeau, many more varieties of the Protector's coins were made.

Simon died in August of 1665. His bequest specified that his punches, dies, and engraving tools were to be given to his nephew, William, if said nephew were likewise to become an engraver. If not, then they were to pass to Simon's son, Samuel. Apparently, William did not become an engraver, and Samuel proved to be of insufficient calibre to warrant these items. According to a Vertue note, in 1676 a Mr. Marlow 'bought of the widow of Simons all the tools, stamps, puncheons, wax impressions, etc. that did belong to Mr. Simons'. There had been some confusion over this will in the past, but it has been cleared up by Mr. Whetmore (Ref. 9). None of the original documents mention the Cromwell dies (or other equipment) as such. Thus it is not possible to define what constituted Simon's possessions, and whether or not the Cromwell items were included.

It is generally conceded, often by relatively contemporary sources, that all or some of the aforementioned Simon equipment reached the Low Countries. There, new dies were prepared using the Simon puncheons for the halfbroad, crown, shilling, and sixpence. The new crown was certainly struck there, and the other denominations probably so. These strikings are referred to as the Dutch coins.

In 1700 Isaac Newton, Master of the Mint, purchased, for the Mint, '10 puncheons and 9 dies graven by Mr. Simonds famous graver in the time of Ol. Cromwell for 14 guineas'. Presumably, these were thought to be Simon's originals at the time. Hocking was able to

identify the contents of this purchase and, after a few corrections of misprints in his article, it is revealed that the purchase consisted of the following items:

<i>Puncheons</i>	<i>Dies</i>
broad-obverse	(Dutch) halfbroad-obverse
halfbroad-obverse	(Dutch) halfbroad-reverse 1658
crown-obverse	(Simon) crown-obverse (a matrix)
crown-reverse	(Simon) crown-reverse (a matrix)
halfercrown-reverse	(Dutch) shilling-reverse (a matrix)
shilling-obverse	(Dutch) shilling-obverse
shilling-reverse	(Dutch) shilling-reverse
sixpence-obverse	(Dutch) sixpence-obverse
sixpence-reverse	(Dutch) sixpence-reverse
a medal-obverse (MI 434/84?)	

It is of great interest to note that all of these puncheons, with the possible exception of the medal puncheon, are considered to be by Simon, but all of the dies are Dutch, with the exception of the crown matrices which are considered to be by Simon. The Simon dies are not now known to exist. Hocking suggests that if the Simon dies had been transferred to the mint, they would probably have been destroyed along with the Commonwealth dies at the Restoration. This assumption is quite logical, but it cannot be shown whether or not the dies were ever transferred to the Mint from Drury House. Hocking was further of the opinion that Simon would have been most likely to keep the dies himself.

The final events occur when Richard Arundell was appointed new Master of the Mint in 1738. He apparently had John Tanner prepare some new dies and strike coins from these new dies. Probably this was done to satisfy certain influential collectors of the time. These new dies were for the crown and a variety of the halfbroad. It is possible that Tanner also made striking from the existing Dutch halfbroad, shilling, and sixpence dies.

The Coins

There is possibly no better way to define the issues involved than a catalogue listing, and such an attempt is made in Table I (opposite p. 172). This listing may also allow the reader to draw his own conclusions. Obviously, the catalogue cannot be complete, and there is no doubt that further additions, and possibly some deletions, will result from its publication. I do feel that the type, or die, groupings, A through S will prove to be complete. I have examined many of the coins, and I have received detailed information on many others in the list. There remains a quantity which are ill-defined and are known primarily through Henfrey. The question of rarity, as usual, must be taken only as a guide. For example, I was familiar with the gold halfercrown I 27, only through Seaby's ESC (Ref. 6) where it is listed with a rarity of one or two known. I saw one of these coins in 1964 and assumed it to be unique, but Mr. Blunt has recorded the existence of two more, for which I give the weights. In the matter of present collection location, the British Museum is normally used as the master. In Table I, the coins are catalogued by type grouping (actually die grouping, as group A contains two types), and then by an overall sequential numbering system.

I consider the flow chart of Figure 1 (opposite p. 166) to be the heart of this discussion, as it was really the means by which somewhat of a breakthrough was accomplished in the matter of presentation. Certainly, it and the catalogue complement each other. The chart is a most convenient method of relating the different dies used in this very confusing series. Unlike the usual die-link charts, it became necessary to include the puncheons and known matrices. All the known puncheons, matrices, and dies in the Royal Mint are shown, and the obvious missing

dies and puncheons have been added to provide a complete picture. The various theories regarding the puncheons, that is, that they belonged to Simon, and probably were or possibly were not used to strike the specific issues, were taken solely from the observations of Hocking. Except for a few definite cases which he mentions, it does not appear possible to be entirely certain that a specific puncheon produced a specific die. I have no reason to challenge his most basic contention that the puncheons were all by Simon, but I do feel they might be a somewhat random sampling of his work, possibly including some rejected items. In other words, the Mint purchase of 1700 does not necessarily represent the sum total of Simon's puncheons and, in fact, some basic puncheons were not even present. When considering whether or not all the dies of the same denomination (Simon, Dutch, and Tanner dies) were produced from the same puncheon, it should be realized that no two dies would be expected to appear absolutely identical when hand-sunk from the same master puncheon. Also, it is possible that retouching was done on the die itself after the sinking. Certain portions of the design, such as harp strings, were probably engraved directly on the die. Thus, the solid and dashed connecting lines of Figure 1 must be taken in the light of the above comments. I have not had the opportunity to examine the dies and puncheons themselves. As an example illustrating this problem, the Cromwell medal, referred to as the imitation inauguration medal, possibly by Dassier (MI 410/46), has a bust which might appear to the untrained eye to be made from the same puncheon which Simon used on his Lord General Medal (MI 388/7). Similarly, the bust puncheon of the smaller of the two Dutch imitation funeral medals (MI 434/84) could have been the same one which made the Dutch shilling. This puncheon is in the Mint and formed part of the 1700 purchase. Possibly it was a rejected Simon puncheon. However, the Simon and Dutch shillings appear to be from the same bust puncheon.

Cast forgeries are known to exist, in the halfcrown and shilling series, at least. These all appear to be copies of the Simon coins. Definite forgeries are avoided in the catalogue listing, although some coins which are listed, such as the E 14 and E 15 crowns, might be in the same dubious category.

From these preliminary remarks, the coins themselves will be discussed, based upon the catalogue and the flow chart.

The *fifty-shilling* gold piece (A 1), so-called because of its weight being 2.5 times that of the broad, is in existence to a greater degree than is normally supposed; in fact, to a degree whereby they might conceivably be considered to be presentation pieces more than patterns or proofs of the dies. Since the order specified a gold coin with the lettered edge reading as does the fifty-shilling piece, the original purpose of this magnificent striking may safely be considered as such an attempt. It will thus be defined here as a pattern for the broad. Yet, the coins themselves would have to have been made after Simon and Blondeau were well aware that the lettered edge was impractical for a twenty-shilling piece because of the increased thickness required. Hocking thought these coins to be from separate dies from the broad because of the indented or bifurcated bases in the lettering on one, but not the other. However, this bifurcation appears to be a function of the striking process, and is possibly related to the density and/or thickness of the metal used. In the few instances where it is possible to compare gold and silver strikings from the same die, or the same metal of different thicknesses from the same die, variations may be noted*. The fifty-shilling and broad dies are obviously one and the same, and the broads are thus categorized under the same grouping, A.

*A sufficient sampling has not been examined for definite conclusions to be reached.

THE CROMWELL COINAGE

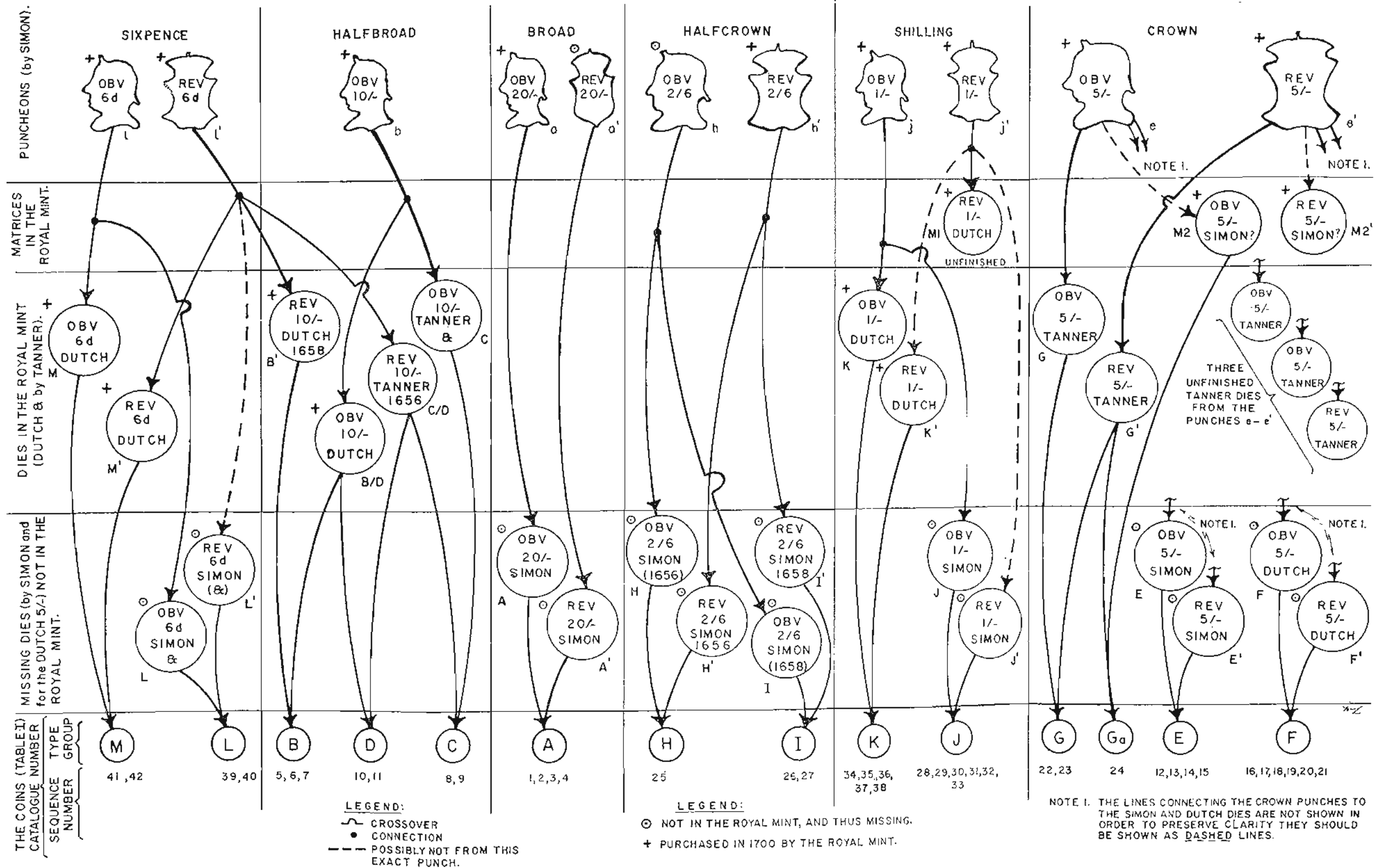


FIGURE 1. THE CROMWELL COINAGE; FLOW CHART SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE PUNCHES, DIES, AND COINS.

The *broad* (A 2, 3, and 4), or twenty-shilling gold piece, presents no particular problem as one set of dies was used to strike this coin, and these dies were by Simon. A few strikings, identical to the gold, are known in silver with grained edges. One thick striking is known with a plain edge, and this is in the Hunter collection. The dies are those which also produced the fifty-shilling piece and, like all the Simon dies, are now missing. The obverse puncheon is in the Royal Mint and was part of the 1700 purchase; the reverse puncheon has never been accounted for. The silver broads appear to have more bifurcation at the bases of the letters than do the gold strikings. A weight ratio of the standard gold broad to an average silver broad is 1.46:1. There were no Dutch or Tanner re-makes of this coin. This was also the case for the halfcrowns, and the significance may lie in the fact that in each instance one of the required puncheons is missing. The implication here is that those puncheons were not part of the lot which reached the Low Countries, and thus new dies could not be sunk. An inconsistency occurs when the halfbroads are considered since there never was a reverse puncheon (all reverse dies were made from the sixpence arms), and yet new dies and coins were made. This may be rationalized in that no halfbroads were in existence, so the 'Dutch' had a reason to account for a coin for which they had but one obverse puncheon. This idea was then carried further by Tanner.

The *halfbroads* (Groups B, C, and D), or ten-shilling gold pieces, formerly presented some of the most perplexing problems of the entire series, but Mr. Allen correctly defined the issues (Ref. 4), presumably based on Hocking's observations. Simon made the bust puncheon for the halfbroad, and possibly even one for the arms, although there is no trace of the latter. It is most unlikely that dies were sunk, for then it would be inconceivable that no proof or trial strikings survived. Since the halfbroad was originally ordered, and since this was a contemporary denomination, I must assume that an order, now missing, cancelled the need for the gold ten-shilling coin and indeed for the gold five-shilling piece as well. There are three distinct issues of the halfbroad, constituting die groups B, C, and D, and the sequence may easily be defined both by the degree of die flawing noticeable in the coins and by the die-links. In all instances, Simon's bust puncheon for the proposed halfbroad and Simon's reverse arms puncheon for the sixpence were used. A total of two obverse dies and two reverse dies were used to strike the three coins; two of the dies were Dutch and two were sunk by Tanner. Both puncheons and the four dies are in the Royal Mint, all but Tanner's two dies forming part of the purchase of 1700. As previously mentioned, the probable reason for producing these false dies and coins was that the puncheon was in existence but not the coins, and thus for completeness the coins were made.

Group B dies were Dutch and therefore the first of the series. They are dated 1658 and are known in both gold and copper, with plain or grained edges. If the Dutch connotation is not sufficient to define these as the initial issue, the degree of obverse die cracks does place these coins before group D which came after group C. It has not been possible to determine whether or not any of this issue was re-struck at the Mint in 1738. A thorough examination of all existing specimens might provide the answer by comparing die flaws and searching for rust marks. In this paper the strikings will be considered as Dutch.

The second sequential issue was made from die group C, which dies were by Tanner. The coins are in gold, with both plain and grained edges, and dated 1656. Tanner apparently made these new dies in preference to using the Dutch dies of group B, perhaps in order to provide consistency with the original Simon issues. That is, Tanner's new obverse die has

the correct inscription with the '&' in the legend, and his reverse die has the 1656 date which may be considered consistent with the only original gold issue, the broad.

When all this was done, Tanner now lost consistency by muling the Dutch obverse of group B with his own reverse of group C. He thus produced group D. At least I must assume these coins were by Tanner since they were definitely a Mint output. Here, plain edge coins, in gold and silver, were made with the 1656 date. The sequence is again obvious because this final group was made from obverse and reverse dies which show the very latest stages of die flaws. The reason for Tanner's group C is clear; the reason for the muled group, D, was possibly because Tanner's obverse die became unusable and he had further coins remaining to be produced. An examination of the flow chart should clear up any confusion on the die-links which might still remain with the reader.

The *crowns* (Groups E, F, G, and Ga), or five-shilling silver pieces, constitute a rather involved series, yet a generally well-defined one. The crowns consist of the originals by Simon and the Dutch and Tanner copies. The Royal Mint has a Simon obverse puncheon and a Simon reverse puncheon, and both an obverse and reverse matrix, considered by Hocking to be Simon's work. All of these were a portion of the 1700 purchase. Additionally, the Mint now has the final Tanner obverse and reverse dies as well as three of his unfinished dies. As usual, the Simon dies are missing, and the Dutch dies, alone of the Dutch series, are also missing (they were not in the 1700 purchase). The edges of all the different issues of the crown are lettered with the exception of a few of the copies which have plain edges.

Simon's crown is characterized by three very distinct traits. The first is the well-known flaw running across Cromwell's neck which was due to a cracked die. No crown has definitely been recorded in which some evidence of this flaw was not present, albeit occasionally minute. The flaw became massive by the end of the series as the crack in the die widened. The second trait is the protrusion from the upper right of the numeral 8 in the date. A careful examination under a sixty-power microscope leaves little room for doubt that the 8 was re-cut over a 7. The final identifying characteristic of the Simon striking is that the top leaf of the laurel wreath points to the left part of the right foot of the letter A in ANG. This is useful in differentiating the coin from the other crowns. These points are all well known and I have simply repeated them here. There are two gold striking of the crown known to exist. At least one of these shows a moderate state of the die flaw and, if I may, I will assume that the other is similar¹. Probably some presentation pieces were required during the striking of the regular coinage, and thus the cracked die was all that was available for use. They cannot be thought of as proofs of the die. I have listed two other crowns of the Simon type, E 14 and E 15, one in pewter and the other in some base metal, silver plated. I consider these as casts and therefore not original works of Simon. E 15 has been examined under a thirty-power microscope, and a granularity and roughness of the surface is very evident. However, this could be a function of the base metal and the plating. A date sometime just after the Restoration, when Pepys (1662) comments on their upswing in price, would be my guess as to the time and the reason for the castings. With this surmise one would expect to find more in existence, and very likely there are. They are included in the catalogue because of the uncertainty of their status. The weight ratio of a standard crown to the plated crown (E 15) is 1.37:1, and of the two gold crowns to the standard silver crown, 1.54:1 and 1.63:1.

¹ The Fitzwilliam specimen (758.4 gr.) is illustrated in the Montagu catalogue (third portion, Nov. 1896, Sotheby) as lot 720 and the Wakley catalogue (Dec. 1909, Sotheby) as lot 113. The other specimen (716

gr.) presently in the United States, is illustrated as lot 456 in the Murdoch catalogue (second portion, June 1903, Sotheby). They do appear to be similar.

Hocking illustrates a wax (?) impression from the Simon matrices, which were in the 1700 purchase, as no. 4 in Plate IV (Ref. 3). Unfortunately, I am unable to discern any differences between this impression and a normal Simon striking, at least nothing which could not be explained by the condition of the steel. Hocking mentioned the lack of bifurcated letters but, being a function of the striking, the matrices would not be expected to illustrate this peculiarity, and a wax impression would also lack it. I find this confusing only in the great degree of sameness between the matrices and the coins, especially so for a hand-made item.

The Dutch crowns were possibly struck prior to 1690, and the dies were presumably sunk from Simon's puncheons. This coin is characterized by an inverted and reversed letter *N* in the obverse and edge legends, by the bust being poorly centered, and by the top leaf of the laurel wreath pointing to the first leg of the letter *N* in *ANG*. The coins are known in various metals, but not gold, and the edge is lettered normally. I assume that all the listed coins were struck. The dies for this coin have never been accounted for. Perhaps it is significant to note that the Dutch crown differs from all other Dutch coins in that the letter *N* is always inverted and reversed, the & is present in the obverse legend, and the dies are missing. Additionally it is the poorest instance of bust centering. Certain opinions in the past have been expressed to the effect that Simon's puncheons were not used to sink the Dutch crown dies. Possibly this crown has no relation to any of the other Dutch coins, but was concocted independently to satisfy some unknown demand.

The Tanner crowns were struck *circa* 1738 from new dies made with the Simon puncheons purchased in 1700. The coins are all in silver and have either a plain or lettered edge. The top leaf of the laurel wreath on this coin points between the *A* and *N* of *ANG*, and it is a reasonably good copy of Simon's work. These crowns were apparently made for certain collectors of the day, but I would not hazard a guess as to the reason. Certainly the purpose was not to satisfy a demand for Cromwell crowns, since the few made by Tanner would not have supplied a general market and the Simon crown was not so rare. A curious striking exists (Ga 24) which mules the Tanner reverse with the Simon obverse matrix. This coin is mentioned in the Linecar & Stone article (Ref. 5) and by Hocking. It was probably made expressly for Mr. Hunter as a curiosity.

The silver *halferowns* (Groups H and I) are a straight-forward issue, although they are the only original Simon coins represented by two different dates, that is, 1656 and 1658. The coins themselves are noticeably different from each other in the general appearance of the bust, the arrangement of the reverse crown, and the reading of the obverse legend (1656 reads *HI* whereas 1658 reads *HIB*). However, it is usually agreed that the puncheons were the same for both coins. The obverse halferown puncheon and all four Simon dies are missing, but the reverse puncheon was included in the Mint purchase of 1700. The 1656 halferown is known only in silver and with a lettered edge. It is normally found in a circulated condition and is quite scarce. It is likely that these coins of 1656 were circulated in the sense that they were distributed on a high social level (Parliament?), possibly as an experiment for general circulation, but with a result that they became souvenirs or pocket pieces. The halferowns of 1658 are known in silver and gold, and again all have their edges lettered. The weight ratios of the gold halferowns to the standard silver halferowns are 1.76:1 and 1.78:1 for two of the three known to me. In a fashion similar to the gold crowns, these gold pieces were probably struck for presentation purposes during the manufacture of the normal silver issue.

The silver *shillings* (Groups J and K), are represented by the Simon and Dutch issues, but there are none by Tanner unless he made some re-strikes from the Dutch dies. The Mint

has both Simon puncheons, the pair of Dutch dies, and an unfinished Dutch reverse matrix. Hocking was somewhat doubtful that the existing reverse puncheon was actually the one used to sink the Simon and Dutch dies. The Simon dies have not been accounted for, as usual.

All of the original Simon silver coins show the effects of certain die flaws¹, and these are described in the catalogue listing. A unique striking in the British Museum is in silver on an octagonal flan, undoubtedly a proof of the dies. The silver coins are of uniform quality, but the base shillings are an unknown factor. These base issues, in pewter, copper, and lead, are mentioned in sale catalogues according to Henfrey, but details and present locations are not known to me and I have my doubts as to their genuineness. Other than the pewter sixpence, supposedly by Simon, there are no Simon strikings in other than silver and gold, the pewter and base crowns presumably being casts. Until they can be thoroughly examined, they must remain as anomalies. One of the most mysterious coins is a gold shilling from the Simon dies, but lacking the die flaws.² It must not be assumed that the die pits causing the flaws were repaired by Simon or Blondeau to make special presentation shillings compatible with the gold crowns and halferowns, because the quality of the coin is not that of a Blondeau striking. The quality is the most important characteristic of the coin—the coin is properly centered, but the bust, arms, and legends are not in sharp focus although the beading and graining are. The polish and frosting are not good, yet none of these faults can be readily attributed to a weak striking. The question of the coin being a cast naturally arises, but it has been studied and measured under sixty power and does not appear to be a casting. The measurements show that the coin diameter and the lettering dimensions are identical to three standard silver shillings which were examined for comparison. That is, there is no discernible shrinkage of the gold coin as would normally be expected of a cast. The weight ratio of the gold shilling to a standard silver shilling is 1.24:1, which implies a highly alloyed coin.³ A cast coin would have reproduced the die flaws since the original model would have been flawed, and it is not likely that the flaws would have been ground off the original; they certainly were not removed from the gold coin. Thus, all indications point to a struck coin, possibly from rusty dies, and probably not by Blondeau. Certain characteristics, such as weak harpstrings and unsharp outlines could be attributed to rusty dies. There is also a very faint tendency toward reverse double striking although this is not evident to the naked eye. Mr. Allen (Ref. 4) mentions a gold shilling in the Murdoch sale (said to be cast in the catalogue) and the Wertheimer sale. I do not know if these coins are one and the same nor if they are the same as the one I list. I have purposely detailed this particular coin because, if the conclusion that the coin was struck is accepted, then a very important relationship is developed between this coin and the disappearance of the Simon dies. The tendency is to consider the coin as a later re-strike, later especially if the dies actually were rusty. Unfortunately, I am unable to develop this trend any further. If other gold shillings exist, it would be most interesting to examine them. Similarly, it would be interesting to see if the base shillings illustrate the same peculiarities as the gold coin. Sometime in the past some individual may have had a full set of Simon coins in gold, with the exception of the sixpence!

The Dutch shillings are generally of good quality and closely resemble the Simon shillings, although the 'S' is missing from the obverse legend. Except for a very few known in bronze,

¹ A specimen has been reported without the usual flaw under the letter P, but I have not examined this coin.

² An extremely faint trace of a portion of the flaw under the letter P has been noticed with the aid of

a microscope.

³ However, the thickness of the gold shilling is only about 80% of that of a silver shilling. This could account for the weight discrepancy as compared to the gold and silver broads.

the coins are in silver, with grained or plain edges, and struck on thick or normal flans. I have listed the normal and thick coins separately, not because the thick issues have been traditionally known as two-shilling pieces, but simply because there are two distinct weight groupings. According to Hocking, the thick flans were necessary due to the quality of the Dutch dies. I have little doubt that most of the striking were done in the Low Countries. This is based on the quality of the striking and the lack of traces of rust on those coins I have examined. If struck in 1738, the dies would have been very old, and therefore rust on the steel dies would be expected.

The silver *sixpence* coinage (Groups L and M) is represented, in a similar fashion to the shillings, only by the Simon and Dutch issues. The Royal Mint has both the Simon puncheons and the pair of Dutch dies. The Simon dies are, of course, missing. This denomination is the smallest, except for the Ramage farthings, and will be the final coin to be discussed here.

The Simon coin is an exceedingly rare one, and surprisingly so. The majority of specimens reported by Henfrey are only in fair condition. The coins are all in silver and have their edges grained with the exception of a plain-edged pewter striking in the British Museum. The primary difference between the Simon and Dutch sixpence is that the former has the proper legend with the '&' but the Dutch, as on the shilling and halfbroad, omits it. The inconsistencies arise when it is considered that the sixpence was a very natural denomination to produce, and yet is the rarest of Simon coins; the condition of most of the existing specimens is not equal to other remaining Simon rarities; and the pewter striking is possibly the only Simon coin struck in something other than gold or silver (taking the previous comments on the other base coins into account). When I began this paper, I had expected to be able to disprove the connection between Simon and the '&' sixpence. However, this I have been unable to do, so unless new data come to the fore, this denomination will remain as a part of the original Simon coinage. Possibly they are trial pieces with the rarity due to Cromwell's death before full production could be begun. Or possibly the dies were prepared by Simon, but only a pewter trial struck. In that case someone else would have had to strike the coins at a later date. Under this premise, the question of the history of the Simon dies again becomes important. Certainly the dies are not Dutch and, had they been by Tanner, they would probably still exist. Tanner had the Dutch dies, and therefore would have had no reason to make new ones. Everything points to the dies being by Simon, but not necessarily the striking.

The Dutch sixpences are relatively common, and are found only in silver, with either grained or plain edges. I have avoided the traditional ninepence nomenclature for the thick-flan striking, but instead I have listed only two types, based upon the type of edge. The coins vary greatly in weight, and not in distinct groupings of light and heavy, or thick and thin. Again, I would suspect that most of the striking are Dutch.

Conclusions

From an examination of the presented data, it will be noted that none of Simon's original dies are known to exist, with the possible exception of the crown matrices which are not truly dies. Conversely, all of the dies known to exist (in the Royal Mint) are either Dutch or by Tanner, except for the matrices. All the Dutch dies, with the exception of the Dutch crown, were purchased in 1700 by the Mint. It is not really conceivable that the Simon dies may yet come to light, but it is to be hoped that documentation will. Since these dies were a part of an official English coinage, of a sort, it is entirely logical to assume they were officially

destroyed at or by the Mint after Cromwell's death. Then the gold shilling, possibly the base shillings, possibly the silver sixpences, and possibly some of the other Simon coins would have to have been made by some unscrupulous mint worker between the time of Cromwell's death and the destruction of the dies. In that case, Simon and Blondeau would have had to transfer the dies to the Mint from Drury House, necessitating some form of documentation. If the Mint were officially aware that the dies had been destroyed, it is strange that those purchased in 1700 were thought to be originals, unless the change in personnel over the years would account for the discrepancy.

The Dutch coins were probably made to satisfy some unknown request, and someone quite knowledgeable in the types of Cromwell coins seems to have been involved in the enterprise. A search through Dutch archives in reference to some of the known medalists of the day might prove enlightening. Tanner's coins, if indeed he was the culprit, were probably a result of the influence of some collector of the period, but the philosophy behind the re-makes will probably never be understood.

Clearly, we are still plagued with many unanswered questions, other than that of the disappearance of the Simon dies. These questions include the reasons why certain denominations were never made; how and why the Simon puncheons (at least) reached the Low Countries, and exactly what constituted this package; and how this parcel of Simon puncheons and Dutch dies arrived back at the Mint to be purchased there in 1700. I present these opinions and comments, for that is only what they are, in the hope that future studies will be initiated.

It has not proved possible to include quality illustrations of the coins, but most are illustrated by castings in one book or another and, where known, these are noted in the catalogue listing.

It remains for me to express my appreciation for the generous assistance extended me by H. W. A. Linecar and W. Slayter. For the extensive correspondence and details of the most important collections I wish to thank R. E. Ockenden, R. A. G. Carson of the British Museum, G. Pollard of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland and J. D. A. Thompson of the Heberden Coin Room at Oxford, and Dr. Anne Robertson of the Hunter Coin Cabinet at Glasgow. I would also like to thank D. G. Liddell for supplying many of the coins, and H. E. Manville for corrections and comments.

Since the preparation of this paper it has been decided that the E 15 crown is a silver-plated cast. The F 21 crown has had its edge-lettering erased and thus the type does not really exist.

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7. C. W. Peck, *English Copper, Tin, and Bronze Coins in the British Museum*, 1960, pages 98-102. (referred to as Peck or 'P').
8. D. F. Allen, *Warrants and Sketches of Thomas Simon*, BNJ xxiii, 1940.
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In addition to the references used for this paper, the following works will provide valuable material on the Cromwell coinage, and are highly recommended for further reading.

1. H. Farquhar, *Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals*, BNJ v, 1908, page 215 ff.
2. G. Vertue, *Works of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edition, 1780.
3. D. F. Allen, *Thomas Simon's Sketch Book*, Walpole Society, vol. xxvii, 1938-39.
4. D. Piper, *The Contemporary Portraits of Oliver Cromwell*, Walpole Society, vol. xxxiv, 1952-54.

CATALOGUE NUMBER		DIE TYPE GROUP	SEQUENCE NUMBER	DENOMINATION	METAL	DATE	EDGE	DIE ENGRAVER	CATALOGUE AND/OR ILLUSTRATION REFERENCE	PRESENT OR LAST KNOWN LOCATION	WEIGHT (GRAINS) R: RANGE OF VALUES S: SPECIFICATION A: ACTUAL FOR THIS PIECE N: APPROXIMATE	ESTIMATE OF RARITY OR ESTIMATE OF TOTAL KNOWN (DENOTED BY ~)	REMARKS
A	1			"FIFTY SHILLINGS"	GOLD	1656	LETTERED	SIMON	BRUNNING SALE 1908 PLATE I, 5	BMC +	~351.25	~11	PROBABLY A PATTERN FOR THE BROAD, ON A THICK FLAN WITH EDGE READING "PROTECTOR · LITERIS · LITERAE · NVMMIS · CORONA · ET · SALVS."
	2		BROAD	GOLD	1656	GRAINED	SIMON	HE-PL III, 1; HO-PL III, 5	BMC +	S=140.50	RARE		
	3			SILVER	1656	GRAINED	SIMON		BMC +	~96	~5	POSSIBLY A PROOF OF THE DIES	
	4			SILVER	1656	PLAIN	SIMON	HE-Pg.106	HUNTER	A=183.18	~1	PROBABLY A PROOF OF THE DIES	
B	5		HALF-BROAD	COPPER	1658	PLAIN	DUTCH	HE-Pg.140	LESSEN +	A=79.5	~1	WEAK, NO DIE FLAWS *MURDOCH LOT 479? } NO & IN LEGEND. THE FIRST SERIES OF HALFBROADS. MOST OR ALL ARE PROBABLY DUTCH STRIKINGS. (REFERRED TO AS TANNER HALFBROAD No.2 BY HENFREY)	
	6			GOLD	1658	PLAIN	DUTCH	HE-PL III, 5; HO-PL III, 6	BMC +	~70 (ONE RECORDED=87)	~6		
	7			GOLD	1658	GRAINED	DUTCH		OXFORD +	~70	~3		
C	8		HALF-BROAD	GOLD	1656	PLAIN	TANNER	HE-PL III, 3; HO-PL III, 5	BMC +	~71	~8	WITH & IN THE LEGEND. THE SECOND SERIES OF HALFBROADS. ROYAL MINT STRIKINGS FROM TANNER'S DIES IN 1738. (REFERRED TO BY HENFREY AS SIMON'S HALFBROAD)	
	9			GOLD	1656	GRAINED	TANNER		BMC +	~71	~2		
D	10		HALF-BROAD	SILVER	1656	PLAIN	DUTCH OBERSE TANNER REVERSE	HAMILTON SMITH SALE 1927 LOT 316	BMC, OCKENDEN	A=79.8 & 87.0	~2	NO & IN THE LEGEND. THE THIRD SERIES OF HALFBROADS. ROYAL MINT STRIKINGS IN 1738 FROM THE DUTCH OBERSE DIE AND THE TANNER REVERSE DIE. A VERY HEAVILY FLAWED SERIES. (REFERRED TO BY HENFREY AS TANNER'S HALFBROAD No.1)	
	11			GOLD	1656	PLAIN	DUTCH OBERSE TANNER REVERSE	HE-PL III, 2	BMC +	R=98-140	~6		
E	12		CROWN	SILVER	1658	LETTERED	SIMON	HE-PL III, 6; HO-PL III, 1; ESC 10, HL 1	BMC +	S=464.5	SCARCE	ALL KNOWN SPECIMENS EXHIBIT A DIE FLAW ACROSS THE NECK THE DATE IS 1658/7 } EDGE READS " * HAS · NISI · PERITVRVS · MINI · ADIMAT · NEMO. " TOP LEAF OF LAUREL WREATH POINTS TO SECOND LIMB OF LETTER A	
	13			GOLD	1658	LETTERED	SIMON	WAKLEY SALE 1909 PL. 112 ESC 10A, HL 1A	FITZWILLIAM, PRIVATE (US)	A=716.0 & 798.4	~2		
	14			PEWTER	1658	PLAIN	SIMON	HL 1B	OCKENDEN	?	~1		
	15			PEWTER SILVER PLATED	1658	LETTERED	SIMON		LESSEN	A=339.5	~1		
F	16		CROWN	SILVER	1658	LETTERED	DUTCH	HE-PL III, 5; HO-PL III, 3; ESC 11; HL 2	BMC +	~490	UNDER 50	SAME LETTERED EDGE AS ON SIMON'S CROWN. THE EDGE MULLET IS OF POOR QUALITY. THE LETTER N IS INVERTED IN THE OBERSE AND EDGE LEGENDS. TOP LEAF OF LAUREL WREATH POINTS TO FIRST LIMB OF LETTER N. DUTCH DIES AND DUTCH STRIKINGS, 17TH CENTURY THIS IS POSSIBLY FIB WITH THE EDGE LETTERING WORN OFF THE COIN ITSELF IS IN POOR CONDITION.	
	17			SILVER GILT FLAN	1658	LETTERED	DUTCH	ESC 11A, HL 2A	OCKENDEN	A=492.0	~4		
	18			PEWTER	1658	LETTERED	DUTCH	ESC 11B, HL 2B	?	?	~1		
	19			LEAD	1658	PLAIN	DUTCH	ESC 12; HL 2C	?	?	~1		
	20			PEWTER	1658	PLAIN-ROUGH	DUTCH	HL 2D	BMC	A=347.8	~1		
	21			SILVER	1658	PLAIN-ERATED	DUTCH		OCKENDEN				
G	22		CROWN	SILVER	1658	LETTERED	TANNER	HL-PL III, 2; HO-PL III, 2; ESC 13; HL 3	BMC +	R=430-500	~20	SAME EDGE LETTERING AS ON SIMON'S CROWN, BUT THE MULLET IS INVERTED * } TOP LEAF OF LAUREL WREATH POINTS BETWEEN THE LETTERS A AND N. ROYAL MINT STRIKINGS FROM TANNER'S DIES IN 1738.	
	23			SILVER	1658	PLAIN	TANNER	ESC 14; HL 3A HL 3B	BMC + HUNTER =	R=363-500 A=636.10	~20 ~1		
Ga	24		CROWN	SILVER	1658	PLAIN	SIMON OBERSE TANNER REVERSE	HL 4	BMC +	A=664.47	~1	VERY THICK FLAN. A MULE USING WHAT IS CONSIDERED A SIMON OBERSE MATRIX (HO-PL III, 4) AND TANNER'S REVERSE DIE. ROYAL MINT STRIKING 1738.	
H	25		HALF-CROWN	SILVER	1656	LETTERED	SIMON	HE-PL III, 4; HO-PL III, 4; ESC 4A, 4B	BMC +	S=232.25	VERY RARE	EDGE LETTERING SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE CROWN EXCEPT THAT A CROSSPATTEE * REPLACES THE MULLET	
I	26		HALF-CROWN	SILVER	1658	LETTERED	SIMON	HE-PL III, 7; ESC 4A, 7	BMC +	S=232.25	SCARCE		
	27			GOLD	1658	LETTERED	SIMON	ESC 4A, 7A	PRIVATE	A=408 & 413	~3		
J	28		SHILLING	SILVER	1658	GRAINED	SIMON	HE-PL III, 8; ESC 1005	BMC +	S=92.75	SCARCE	ALL (?) SPECIMENS SHOW DIE FLAWS BENEATH THE LETTER P IN FRONT OF THE LAUREL WREATH (AND BEHIND THE HEAD BELOW THE LETTER H.) } AN OCTAGONAL PROOF NO DIE FLAWS. STRIKING NOT OF THE USUAL BLONDEAU QUALITY MENTIONED BY HENFREY, BUT PRESENTLY UNKNOWN } WITH & IN THE LEGEND	
	29			SILVER	1658	"PLAIN"	SIMON		BMC	A=153.5	~1		
	30			GOLD	1658	GRAINED	SIMON	HE-Pg.136	LESSEN	A=115.4	~1		
	31			PEWTER	1658	PLAIN	SIMON	HE-Pg.136	?	?	~1		
	32			COPPER	1658	?	SIMON	HE-Pg.136	?	?	~1		
	33			LEAD	1658	?	SIMON	HE-Pg.136	?	?	~1		
K	34		SHILLING	SILVER	1658	PLAIN	DUTCH	HE-PL III, 3; ESC 1007	BMC +	R=147-164	~12	THICK FLAN. OFTEN REFERRED TO AS A "TWO-SHILLING" PIECE THIN (NORMAL) FLAN THIN (NORMAL) FLAN } THE BETTER QUALITY COINS, FROM NEW DIES, ARE POSSIBLY 17TH CENTURY DUTCH STRIKINGS SOME WERE POSSIBLY STRUCK AT THE ROYAL MINT IN 1738 FROM THE PURCHASED DIES } NO & IN THE LEGEND	
	35			SILVER	1658	PLAIN	DUTCH	ESC 1006	?	R=73-93	~4		
	36			SILVER	1658	GRAINED	DUTCH	ESC 1008	BMC +	R=87-97	~10		
	37			BRONZE	1658	GRAINED	DUTCH	ESC 1007A	?	A=91.0	~1		
L	38		SIXPENCE	BRONZE	1658	PLAIN	DUTCH					COPPER; SPINK N.C. NOV 1905 LOT 2135B	
	39			SILVER	1658	GRAINED	SIMON	HE-PL III, 1; ESC 1504	BMC +	S=46.25	~6		
	40		SIXPENCE	PEWTER	1658	PLAIN	SIMON	ESC 1504A	BMC +	A=40.4	~2	SPINK N.C. NOV 1905 LOT 21359 & JAN-FEB 1915 LOT 26174 } WITH & IN THE LEGEND	
M	41		SIXPENCE	SILVER	1658	PLAIN	DUTCH	HE-PL III, 4; ESC 1477 & 1506	BMC +	R=51-102	UNDER 50	THICK AND THIN FLANS. THE HEAVIER ONES ARE OFTEN REFERRED TO AS THE "NINEPENCE" } THE BETTER QUALITY AND GRAINED COINS FROM NEW DIES ARE POSSIBLY 17TH CENTURY DUTCH STRIKINGS SOME WERE POSSIBLY STRUCK AT THE ROYAL MINT IN 1738 FROM THE PURCHASED DIES. } NO & IN THE LEGEND	
	42			SILVER	1658	GRAINED	DUTCH	ESC 1605	LESSEN +	~90	~20		
N	43		FARTHING	COPPER (ca. 1658)	PLAIN	RAMAGE	PECK 390, HE-PL III, 6	BMC +	~61	VERY RARE		BUST 1 REVERSE "CHARITIE · AND · CHANGE", ARMS (MONTAGU TYPE 2)	
O	44		FARTHING	COPPER (ca. 1658)	PLAIN	RAMAGE	PECK 391, HE-PL III, 8	BMC +	~65	VERY RARE		BUST 1 REVERSE "THVS VNITED INVINCIBLE", THREE PILLARS WITH R BENEATH (MONTAGU TYPE 1)	
P	45		FARTHING	COPPER-GILDED (ca. 1658)	PLAIN-CHAIN BORDER	RAMAGE	PECK 392, HE-PL III, 9	BMC	?	~1		BUST 1 REVERSE "AND · GOD · DIRECT · OVR · CORSE", SHIP (MONTAGU TYPE 3)	
Q	46		FARTHING	SILVER (ca. 1658)	PLAIN	RAMAGE	PECK 393	MURDOCH-478	?	~1		BUST 2 REVERSE "CHARITIE · AND · CHANGE", ARMS (MONTAGU TYPE 5)	
	47			COPPER (ca. 1658)	PLAIN	RAMAGE	PECK 394, HE-PL III, 7	LESSEN +	A=53.4	~4			
R	48		FARTHING	COPPER (ca. 1658)	PLAIN	RAMAGE	PECK 395	BMC	?	~1		BUST 2 REVERSE "THVS VNITED INVINCIBLE", THREE PILLARS WITH R BENEATH	
S	49		FARTHING	COPPER	1651	PLAIN	RAMAGE PUNCHES	PECK 396; HE-PL I, 5	BMC, HUNTER	A=62.9 & 44.7	~2	BUST 2 REVERSE "CONVENIENT · CHANGE · 1651", ARMS (MONTAGU TYPE 4) AN UNEXPLAINED COIN, USUALLY CONSIDERED TO BE A CONCOCTED FORGERY.	

TABLE I - A CATALOGUE LISTING OF THE CROMWELL COINAGE

